FBIS DAILY REPORT

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Vol II No 248

27 December 1982

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JURISTS PROTEST CONDITIONS OF ANTONOV TRIAL

AU241425 Sofia BTA in English 0820 GMT 24 Dec 82

["Protest of the Union of Jurists in Bulgaria" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, Dec 24 (BTA) -- In connection with the anti-Bulgarian campaign launched in the West, the Union of Jurists in Bulgaria came out with a declaration in which it is said among other things: An extremely unfavourable atmosphere has been created for any normal conducting of the inquest against the detained Antonov, for the public opinion is being artificially and deliberately manipulated to his detriment, to the detriment of the inquiry, to the detriment of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to the detriment of the truth.

This way of influencing the inquest is at variance with the classical principles of criminal legal procedure, at variance with the morality and cannot but be condemned. As a matter of fact the mass media and some political figures blamed and condemned Antonov before his guilt was proven through proceedings as provided for by the Italian procedure law, thus casting a doubt on the possibility for the investigation to get to the objective truth, and for the judicial inquiry to remain unbiased.

The Chief Prosecutor's Office of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, though it has not been approached officially with a demand for rendering legal help to the Italian investigating authorities and with the absence of a legal assistance agreement between the two countries, states publicly that it is (?ready) to make it possible for the Italian investigation authorities to become acquainted with the results of the investigation of the competent Bulgarian authorities, and also to talk to the persons they are interested in.

The Bulgarian authorities have repeatedly provided proofs for their negative attitude towards terrorism. Without any agreements with Interpol, they have rendered real aid in detaining and handing over to the respective bodies their citizens who have committed terrorist acts.

Thus assessing the campaign launched by the mass media in certain Western countries, the Union of Bulgarian Jurists states:

1. There are sufficient grounds to assess as unscrupulous and not in agreement with the generally acknowledged principles of the criminal law the actions of certain representatives of the mass media in Italy and in other Western countries in connexion with the arrest of the Bulgarian citizen Sergey Antonov. The Union of Bulgarian Jurists appeals to the conscience of the judiciary in Italy to assist the observance of the humane principles of the citizen's right to defence.

2. These actions of the mass media in Italy and in some other Western countries impede the normal judicial inquiry against the Bulgarian citizen Sergey Antonov in compliance with the principles and norms of the criminal law.

3. The information 'leaking' in connexion with the inquest and its use by the mass media for attacks against the People's Republic of Bulgaria and its citizens could cast a shadow of mistrust over the impartiality and non-commitment of the Italian organs of inquest and jurisdiction.

The union of Bulgarian jurists expresses its hope that the world judiciary public will assist the bringing of the slanderous campaign against Bulgaria to a halt and the creation of normal conditions for the investigation of the Antonov case.

ANTONOV'S LAWYERS CONVINCED HE IS 'VICTIM'

AU261925 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 26 Dec 82

["Antonov Is Innocent" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 26 (BTA) -- Sergey Antonov's lawyers, Prof Consolo and Larusa, are convinced that he "is a victim of something much greater which he is not linked with and that he is innocent, indeed".

In an interview for Mr Georgi Todorov, BTA special correspondent in Rome which was carried in all today's national dailies, the lawyers express their full confidence in investigating magistrate Martella because he "surely does not bear the responsibility for all that is going on today".

We should bear in mind, Larusa and Consolo say, that Martella is an investigating magistrate and that the prosecutor's instance has handed him in the accusations made by the Turk Agca "under whose pressure, however, we do not know".

Regarding the "accusations" levelled against Antonov, the lawyers said that first they considered them "very strange" and then -- "extraordinarily suspicious".

Mr Consolo and Larusa were asked to comment on the statements of Minister of Defence Lagorio made at the parliament "on contacts the Italian special services had with the already convicted Agca" which took place on December 29, 1981. What they think is that if there have existed such a permission for contacts by the legal authorities, this is a normal procedure then. If, however, the legal authorities themselves have not given such a permission then this fact turns into an "extraordinarily serious one which must immediately be clarified by the judicial authorities".

To the question as from where "the information leadks", Larusa and Consolo say that the best answer to it can be given by the very Roman High Prosecutor's Office which has started an inquiry against "unknown individuals" in order to make it clear where the leakage comes from. It is quite ridiculous, the lawyers say, that the reports on what is going on in Italy come from Turkey. This is a mystery, indeed.

According to Sergey Antonov's councils for defence, the journalists link "the Antonov case" with all other sorts of affairs because they are not capable of offering any thing else regarding Antonov, because nothing does exist, because it is difficult for them to ferret out evidence for an innocent man, and yet they must write something.

Consola and Larusa have undertaken Antonov's defence because they are convinced that they are undertaking a cause which is just, a cause the approach to which they are highly engaged in.

They say that if the state of affairs is such as they know it, and Consolo and Larusa work with the evidence they have succeeded to see, they will make a request most recently. [as received] In their latest request they have presented the evidence of a great number of witnesses who completely discharge Antonov for the days when he has allegedly participated in the papal assassination attempt plotted together with Agca.

During these days Antonov has done his normal duty in his office. In their request Consolo and Larusa propose to Martella for his getting deeper in the investigation and "for his not being satisfied with only the allegations of such a sort of a man as Agca is".

"We hope that with the same seriousness with which he has investigated the facts of the accusation, Martella will assess the [word indistinct] of the defence", the two lawyers say. If the facts are such as they know them, Consolo and Larusa think that the proceeding must have a positive advance and by the end of January investigating magistrate Martella should have released Antonov.

"We want to express our hope as defenders and as Italians, the hope of the whole of Italy that a light will be shed on this case. No Italian would allowed an innocent man to be put into prison, irrespective of which part of the world this man comes from", Consolo and Larusa say.

If there exists no other violation of the law the two lawyers are ready to address the Supreme Court.

DAILY QUESTIONS LOGIC OF POPE ASSAULT LINK

AU232020 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 23 Dec 82

["Logics?" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 23 (BTA) -- An article by journalist Petko Bocharov on the motives for the attempt on the life of the pope a year and a half ago and the now raging in the West anti-Bulgarian slanderous campaign will be published in the Sunday supplement of the OTECHESTVEN FRONT newspaper, now prepared for print. We publish the article in full:

The attempt on the life of the head of the Roman Catholic Church, Pope John Paul II, was made on May 13 past year. Very soon after the seizure of Mehmet Ali Agca on San Pietro Square in Rome he was tried by the Italian court and sentenced to life imprisonment. And it took us not a week or a month but a year and a half to suddenly learn that he was not alone in it but had accomplices. Arrested was the Bulgarian citizen Sergey Antonov. Bulgaria was accused of organizing the attempt.

Hundreds of newspapers, radio stations and televisions in the West took up this song and arranged it into a unprecedented in scale campaign, presenting the charges as if they were proved. Why? Because this is the most effective way to make the mud stick to the face of Bulgaria. And Bulgaria is a socialist country, isn't she!

Specialists in psychological war maintain, and how right they are, that it is sufficient to have the newspaper captions and radio broadcasts for twelve hours running for a lie to become a "truth". And now they have been having them for weeks. But if somebody, a normal thinking person, will look or listen more attentively he can but only come to the conclusion that a distorted picture has been presented to him.

Let us assume that there was a plot and a plan for the assassination of the pope engineered and carried out by a big organization. Even more, by one state, as it is maintained.

But which big organization, had it desired her role to remain secret, would have used in such an attempt primitive methods of the last century? Is it likely for this hypothetical organization to hire an assassin and send him into the crowd on the San Pietro Square and, tightly squeezed from all sides by the people, to shoot at the pope! Is it possible for this very organization to imagine that the assassin will not be seized! And then to imagine that he will not sing out later! Haven't then modern assassins of today learned from the eventful American experience how to carry political assassination through?

They say that Agca is not an amateur in terrorism, that he is an excellent marksman, that he has been trained for long time in different camps. Why shouldn't then Agca, or anyone in his place, choose a comfortable spot, far from the square, shoot out the pope with a long-range optical rifle and easily get away? Couldn't the organization assassin use a time-bomb or a small magnet mine to be stuck beneath the papal limousine and exploded with a radio-signal from kilometres away?

To say nothing of all the other means available. There are lots and lots of ways for an assassin who wishes to remain undetected. And many are the assassins still undetected! Moreover that the question here concerns an attempt on the life not just of anybody but of a pope, the spiritual father of hundreds of millions Catholic believers round the world.

It is quite plain that what we have been offered is quite feeble under the security of a serious critical analysis. In order to seek and find the truth, not the version forced, on to us should be followed.

If we start following the path of logic, we shall see that there are two more variants.

The first is that Agca has indeed acted alone. This is a version which in principle we cannot rule out. The Muslim fanatic acting on his own motives, uncaring whether he shall be caught or not. By the way, his confessions at the trial on which he insisted until the end, were to this effect. And his life sentence is motivated precisely on this self-confession of his.

The second version is the most consistent from a logical point of view -- in both sense and consequences. Yes, there is a plot. Yes, there is a big and powerful organization standing behind the plot. But why choosing such a primitive method? Why does the plan provide for the perpetrator to be caught instead of escaping? Why? Because once caught and in prison, he has to talk instead of staying silent. Why should he carry a note with telephone numbers in his pocket, when seized and searched. The telephone numbers should betray the true organization which has hired the assassin. The aim pursued by this trick with the note is to accuse a socialist country -- the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Why has Agca agreed to this? For money? Probably for money, too. But maybe the chief reason is not money. Certainly he has been a marked man for quite a long time. Immediately after, or maybe even before committing the murder of the editor of the newspaper MILLIYET, Abd Ipekci in Turkey he was detained, facing a trial and almost certainly -- the gallows. His prison escape was carried out in a manner possible only for a major organization, and from this point on Agca becomes an instrument of this organization.

Agca is by no means a stupid man -- this is what we learned from the film of N.B.C. -- he has realized he had no choice. He knew that no corner in this world can hide him from the long arm of such an employer. He is perfectly aware that if he fails to carry out the orders, he would be either liquidated (?and) no one will ever hear of him any more, or somewhere sometime Interpol will arrest him and will arrange an extradition for him to Turkey, where in the meantime he has been sentenced to death -- which is the same.

This version needs a few more words. After being helped out of the Turkish prison, Agca found himself in Iran with a forged Indian passport. And afterward, in order to reach Western Europe, he passed through Bulgaria. Why this route precisely? In order to be able later on, when he will start talking, to piece things together in a way which will make the fabricated "Bulgarian connection" sound more authentic. Being in Iran Agca has had at least a hundred more air lines at his disposal to reach Western Europe, without crossing Bulgaria. Why couldn't he use them? He could all right, but it is plain why he had to use the Bulgarian route of all.

Yes, dear gentlemen, Italian investigators, seek on, look for the country and its bodies which are to blame for the attempted assassination. But not in the manner you are doing it, by focusing on Bulgaria, which, in your view has left traces in order to be found guilty.

BTA REPORTS ON WEAPONS' SMUGGLING IN WEST

AU241955 Sofia BTA in English 1842 GMT 24 Dec 82

[Text] Sofia, December 24 (BTA) -- The Western news agencies reported from Madrid that the Spanish authorities have permitted a shipment of 11.3 tons of light infantry weapons which arrived yesterday by a civil airplane from Argentina and was addressed to "a private person" in Tehran, to fly to its destination irrespective of the forged documents. At the beginning the custom's officers at the airport who uncovered the shipment in 326 packing-cases with a label reading "machine spare parts", held it assuming that the guns -- 5000 Browning pistols and 60 brandless heavy machine guns -- were intended for the "opposition forces" in Iran. But after doing some checking a permission was given for the shipment to be sent by air to Tehran in spite of the dubious address and destination.

In connection with the "Argentinian" shipment there has been reported that again at the Madrid airport, on November 18, this time from Rome, there arrived and was detained a 14-ton shipment of light infantry weapon, addressed to Sudan but via Tehran. This shipment is said not to have been cleared yet since a permission by the Spanish authorities was expected.

Prompted by these two cases and having in mind the ongoing anti-Bulgarian campaign launched by the West we will recall an old maxim in a modern sounding: The smuggler cries stop smuggler.

BTA OBSERVER ON HOSTILE WESTERN PRESS CAMPAIGN

AU251736 Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 25 Dec 82

["According to the Rules of the 'Cold War'" -- BTA headline]

[Excerpts] Sofia, Dec 25 (BTA) -- Here follows a summary of an article by Mr Krasimir Drumev, a BTA observer, which is carried in all dailies today.

A month has passed since the detention of Sergey Antonov for alleged complicity in the attack on the pope, without any accusations whatsoever being produced against him on the part of the Italian authorities.

And already immediately following the first report on his arrest a propaganda campaign began in the NATO countries, which has no equal in its intensity, scale and malevolence. The authors of the campaign not only trumpet Antonov's guilt without the slightest shadow of doubt. They claim that he was acting to instructions by the "Bulgarian secret services" which were allegedly linked with the Soviet ones.

Bulgaria explicitly proved her readiness to assist in clarifying the truth about the attempted assassination. The Turkish national Celenk was put under the control of the Bulgarian authorities. The attorney general invited Martella to come to Bulgaria. The minister of justice proposed his Italian counterpart to offer both sides' competent authorities the possibility of exchanging information and of possibly carrying out joint action on the territory of Bulgaria and Italy with the view to clarifying some issues related to the illegal dealing in drugs, foreign currency, arms and other prohibited goods. Italy has not given any answer till this day.

What gives the Italian ministers the right to insult Bulgaria without producing any evidence whatsoever of complicity to the assassination attempt?

Isn't Agca another Van de Lube, a tool in the hands of reactionary forces and subversion centres which declare a new crusade against socialism? They are ferreting out ways of compromising the socialist community, led by the USSR, of discrediting the communist movement in the capitalist countries, of impeding the normalizing of the situation in Poland, of shifting the responsibility for the terrorism which has seized the Western community onto somebody else.

The actual instigators and driving forces of the provocation will come to light one day.

From the very first day of the provocation, however, it became clear that the on-going hysteria and papal assassination attempt can be to the political advantage of the crusaders of "the cold war" alone.

The Bulgarian public insists that Antonov is immediately released and that the malevolent anti-Bulgarian campaign is put to an end.

USSR ANNIVERSARY MARKED BY CELEBRATIONS

Soviet Embassy Holds Reception

AU232055 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 23 Dec 82

[Text] Nikita Tolubeyev, Soviet ambassador to Bulgaria, has given an embassy reception on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the USSR. The following comrades were present: Todor Zhivkov, Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Milko Balev, Ognyan Doynov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Karadzhov, Dimitur Stanishev, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Misho Mishev, Vasil Tsanov, Chudomir Aleksandrov, Kiril Zarev, the deputy chairmen of the State Council and of the Council of Ministers, members of the State Council, secretaries of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union permanent board, department chiefs at the BCP Central Committee, members of the government, leaders of sociopolitical and mass organizations, scientific, artistic and cultural figures, generals and officers of the Bulgarian People's Army and chiefs and members of diplomatic missions accredited to Bulgaria.

The reception was held in a particularly cordial friendly atmosphere.

Military Celebration in Sofia

AU231836 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 23 Dec 82

[Text] A festive celebration marking the 60th anniversary of the USSR has been held at the People's Army House in Sofia. Attending the celebration were Colonel General Velko Palin, chief of the Military-Administrative Department at the BCP Central Committee, deputy ministers of national defense, generals, Army officers and servicemen of the Sofia garrison as well as Colonel General Vladimir Yakushin, representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact attached to the Bulgarian People's Army, and the military attaches of the fraternal socialist countries.

Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, first deputy minister of national defense, read a report.

MINISTER NAGR VIEWS AGRICULTURE'S RESULTS, PLANS

AU231235 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 Dec 82 p 1

["Ha"-signed report: "Favorable Development of Agriculture"]

[Summary] Yesterday J. Nagr, CSSR minister of agriculture and food, addressed a press conference on this year's results of agriculture and the food industry and on the plans for next year.

Despite a 9 percent increase against 1981, gross plant production has been fulfilled only 95.1 percent. The shortfall in the production of cereals which amounted to 700,000 tons, was primarily responsible for the nonfulfillment. The per-hectare yields of grain crops, including corn, averaged 4 tons, which was one of the best results in the history of the Czechoslovak agriculture. Yet even the good per-hectare yields could not make up for the nonfulfillment of the planned area of cultivation to the tune of 70,000 hectares.

The harvest of rape was 20 percent below plan, which has made necessary unplanned imports of oil-bearing seeds. The procurement of sugar beets was 4.5 percent above plan, and the fruit crop was also larger than planned. The production of bulk fodder is estimated at 14.5 million tons in terms of dry matter, which should fully meet the agricultural enterprises' needs. The quality of the bulk fodder, too, is superior to last year's.

As regards produce of animal origin, the planned procurement of livestock for slaughter, poultry and eggs will be fulfilled and only milk procurement will fall 20-30 million liters short of the plan, which is a shortfall of less than 1 percent. Small breeders already account for 2 percent of all meat production and their interest in contractual fattening is increasing.

The intensity of cattle breeding has increased to 75 head of cattle per 100 hectares of agricultural land, which equals the level of other advanced European states.

The 1983 plan foresees a 2.7 increase in gross agricultural production. While animal production should remain basically at this year's level, plant production should increase 5.6 percent. The main emphasis will be placed on the production of 11 million tons of grain. Compared with the 1982 results, the plan also foresees a 34.6 percent increase in the production of leguminous crops, a 7.1 percent increase in potatoes, a 7.5 percent increase in vegetables and a 5 percent increase in fodder crops. The key task of livestock production will be to ensure a per capita consumption of 80.3 kg of meat and meat products, a 2.5 percent increase in milk procurement and a 2.9 percent increase in egg procurement.

The food industry's gross production should amount to Kcs95.3 billion, which is 2.4 percent more than the expected 1982 results.

HOFFMANN ENDS VISIT TO MOSCOW, LEAVES FOR HOME

LD240040 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 23 Dec 82

[Text] Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, left Moscow for home today. He was taking part in the Moscow celebrations connected with the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the Soviet state. He was in Moscow at the invitation of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

CDU PRESIDIUM DISCUSSES TASKS FOR 1983

AU221302 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Dec 82 p 2

[ADN report: "Christian Responsibility Requires the Struggle for Peace: CDU Main Presidium on Tasks During Karl Marx Year"]

[Summary] "Burgscheidungen (ADN) -- 'Because of Christian responsibility and democratic obligation we shall also in the future do all we can for the well-being of the people and for peace, and we shall further strengthen our socialist fatherland comprehensively.' This was stated by CDU Chairman Gerald Goetting before his party's main presidium which was convened for 2-day deliberations on the tasks of Christian Democrats in the coming year at Burgscheidungen, Hegra Kreis, on Monday."

Gerald Goetting described Erich Honecker's talks with the chairmen of the friendly parties and the president of National Council of the GDR National Front as a visible expression of the close, trustful relationship that links the SED with its partners in the democratic bloc. In this context Goetting stated: "We Christian Democrats will contribute our share to further deepen the constructive political-alliance cooperation in the service of our common interests and objectives at all levels." He added: "We shall actively help to accomplish the great tasks that the working people of our republic have set for themselves during Karl Marx Year.

"The CDU chairman emphatically pointed out the need for joint actions of the peace forces -- regardless of different political, ideological or religious views and motives -- in the struggle against the NATO missile decison."

Deputy CDU Chairman Wolfgang Heyl read the report of the presidium to the main executive committee, referring to creative and original contributions for the fulfillment of the 1983 national economic plan. He stressed that "all those to whom halting the arms race, reducing arms expenditures, and social progress are close to the heart will find in the socialist states their natural allies."

SED CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONGRATULATES KKE LEADER

AU211251 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Dec 82 p 1

[ND report: "Congratulatory Telegram to Kharilaos Florakis: SED Central Committee Greetings on His Reelection as Secretary General"]

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- The SED Central Committee had addressed the following congratulatory telegram, signed by its general secretary, Erich Honecker, to Kharilaos Florakis, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party [KKE], who was reelected to that position on Sunday.

Dear Comrade Kharilaos Florakis:

On your reelection to the post of general secretary of the Central Committee of the KKE, I convey to you the most heartfelt congratulations and fraternal militant greetings on behalf of the SED Central Committee and on my own behalf.

We wish you much success, good health, and creative vigor in your responsible acitivity as head of the Greek Communists.

COUNCIL DISCUSSES ECONOMIC RESULTS, 1983 PLAN

LD172334 Budapest MTI in English 1755 GMT 17 Dec 82

[Text] Budapest, December 17 (MTI) -- The Hungarian Council of Ministers surveyed the development of Hungarian national economy in 1982 and discussed the 1983 national economic plan. It approved the targets and estimates of the plan and measures for its implementation.

The Council of Ministers stated that, under the worse than expected external economic conditions, the national economy has developed according to the resolutions of the HSWP 12th Congress and the targets of the 1982 national economic plan have been met. External balance is improving, Hungary is continuously meeting payment obligations, the population's living standards have been maintained on a social scale and living conditions have improved.

The increase in national income is close to that planned. Specific material and energy consumption is improving, and industrial productivity has considerably increased, but, on the level of national economy the increase was smaller. The proportion of exports in production is growing considerably and the quantity and proportion of import material used decreasing.

Domestic utilization of national income is decreasing more than scheduled, including a considerable drop in accumulation and little increase in consumption. Despite the deteriorating terms of trade, there will be no import surplus. There will be a slight general export surplus and considerable surplus in non rouble accounting areas.

Industrial production has not met the scheduled targets, branches developed differently.

The slower development of production is mainly due to arrears in exports. The lack of increase in convertible export of industrial products is partly due to worse conditions, and transferable rouble export is increasing slower than scheduled.

The production of the construction industry decreased as scheduled. According to plan targets, investments further slackened.

In general agricultural production is increasing at the scheduled pace. Extra production of cooperatives increased to a greater extent than expected. Weather conditions were favourable for plant production, wheat yield was less than planned, and maize yield surpassed that of last year.

At the end of the year animal stock is expected to be as large as last year. Beef-cattle production is stagnating but milk production is further increasing. Pig stock is larger than a year ago and slaughter pig stock is increasing. Poultry production is considerably increasing. Export of agricultural products and food is higher, and import lower than scheduled.

Due to decreasing demands, transport is decreasing.

The accelerated implementation of the energy programme has resulted in considerable savings and enterprise energy economy improved.

In general the labour situation is more balanced than in the previous years although there is still a shortage of manual workers in several areas in the capital. The introduction of new enterprenual [as received] from the organizations joining with enterprises, has reduced the movement of labour.

Incomes, including average salaries and social benefits, increased more than scheduled, due to the increase in low pensions and other social welfare measures.

As a result of price rises during the year and a considerable increase in incomes, consumer price level was more balanced than planned. The price of basic commodities grew less than average. Per capita real income and real wages are the same as a year ago, and population consumption slightly decreased. In general supply was balanced.

The housing plan was fulfilled. More hospital beds, kindergarten places and primary school class rooms were built. Creche places are increasing as planned.

More money than scheduled was spent on investment, though it decreased significantly. State investments, less in number than a year ago, have been implemented. There is a considerable lag in the construction of the Paks nuclear power station.

A larger than planned input, similar to the preceding year, is earmarked for company projects.

In foreign trade turnover, imports in goods exchange accounted in transferable roubles are to reach or somewhat surpass the preceding year's, corresponding to the plan, and exports will somewnat lag behind it. Terms of trade are deteriorating as expected, the deficit in the goods exchange balance will be greater.

Exports in goods exchange accounted in convertible currencies will grow more slowly than planned, imports will considerably decrease as opposed to the planned growth. Therefore, a considerable surplus will arise instead of the calculated small margin deficit.

The most important target of the 1983 national economic plan is to further improve Hungarian national economy's external balance. The standard and structure of production and domestic consumption has to be subordinated to this aim.

The plan for 1983 expects domestic production to contribute to the improvement of the foreign trade balance to a greater degree than before. For that reason, domestic production should be able to turn out more exportable goods and become more efficient. The increase in production is planned to serve, in the first place, the expansion of cost-efficient export and the rational substitution of imports.

The further reduction of domestic end-utilization is also planned to improve the foreign trade balance.

Key Targets of the Plan for 1983 (1982: 100):

National income	100.5 - 101.0
Domestic utilization	96.0 - 97.0
Industrial output	101.0 - 102.0
National construction and assembly output	97.0 - 98.0
Farm produce output	101.0 - 102.0
Percapita real income	98.0 - 98.5
Consumption by individuals	99.0 - 99.5

The number of industrial employees is expected to further decrease. Production is to increase by the promotion of productivity.

Total energy consumption can only increase slightly if at all. An increased proportion of demands is to be covered by home resources. 26 million tons of coal, [number indistinct] million tons of crude oil, 6,800 million cubic metres of natural gas is expected to excavated, [passage indistinct].

REGULATIONS DURING MARTIAL LAW SUSPENSION

AU221510 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Dec 82 p 3

[18 December law that lays down the "special legal regulations" to be in force during suspension of martial law]

[Text] Chapter I

General Regulations

Article 1

1. The suspension of martial law, which was introduced for the sake of the state's security, is causing the rigors foreseen in the decree dated 12 December, 1981 on martial law (OFFICIAL GAZETTE Number 29, Item 154 and 1982 Number 3, Item 18) to be no longer applied as far as the following areas are concerned:

1) Preventive measures in the form of internment and laid down in Articles 42-45. Decisions on these matters cease to have effect on the day martial law suspension comes into effect;

2) Restrictions on personal freedom and on the freedom to move about the country, laid down in articles 8-12, and the duties of citizens connected with this;

3) The duty to obtain special permission to organize and hold gatherings, exhibitions, sporting events as well as public meetings, laid down in Article 13,

4) The right to strike and carry out protest actions in accordance with legal regulations, laid down in Article 14,

5) The suspension of the activities of associations, trade unions, societies and social and professional organizations, laid down in Article 15,

6) The suspension of the activities of self-management bodies among workers in state enterprises, laid down in Article 16,

7) Censorship of postal deliveries and telecommunications messages and control over telephone conversations, laid down in Article 18,

8) The ban on photographing, filming, televising and using certain emblems and uniforms, laid down in Articles 20 and 22,

9) Specific principles behind the functioning of the state administration and national economy during martial law and the duties of citizens in this connection, laid down in Articles 29-41, taking into account the additional rules set by this present law.

2. The suspension of martial law also restricts the use of summary jurisdiction, discussed in the 12 December, 1981 decree in the section dealing with the special proceedings to be instituted during the trials of offenses committed during martial law (OFFICIAL GAZETTE Number 29, Item 156) and the use of the extended jurisdiction of military courts, discussed in the section dealing with the entrusting of certain offenses to military courts and with the change to the structure of voivodship courts and military organizational units falling under the Prosecutor's Office of the Polish People's Republic while martial law is in force (OFFICIAL GAZETTE Number 29, Item 157).

3. Upon the application of the Council of Ministers, the Council of State may by means of a law further suspend the application of martial law rigors other than those mentioned in paragraph 1. The Council of State's resolution is to be announced in the OFFICIAL GAZETTE of the Polish People's Republic and publicized in the mass media.

Chapter 2

Special Regulations During Martial Law Suspension

Article 1

1. For the sake of the state's defense capability and the needs of the national economy and population, employees working in militarized units that have been demilitarized while martial law is suspended may only terminate their work contract during this period of martial law suspension on the basis of a mutual agreement. When the head of a workplace refuses to terminate an employee's contract, the employee may appeal to the body that supervises this workplace.

2. Ministers, heads of central bureaus, governors and mayors of voivodship capitals are to establish a list of workplaces to which paragraph 1 is to be applied.

3. The Council of Ministers may extend the regulations contained in paragraph 1 to cover workplaces that produce goods covered by operational plans. This extension of the regulations may also cover workplaces that are fulfilling the tasks that have been imposed on them by Article 54 of the law dated 25 September, 1981 on state enterprises (OFFICIAL GAZETTE Number 24, Item 122.)

4. When an employee whose supervisor has refused to terminate his work contract on the basis of a mutual agreement and who is working in a workplace discussed in paragraphs 2 and 3 does not accept work, he is to bear the consequences set down by the labor law and by this present law for cases in which an employee has terminated his employment.

Article 2

1. To meet the particular economic and social needs of a workplace that has been demilitarized during martial law suspension, and also the needs of a goods producing workplace that is covered by an operational plan or that is implementing tasks imposed on it by Article 54 of the law mentioned in Article 2, paragraph 3, employees of such workplaces may be placed under an obligation to work over a period not exceeding 46 hours per week and 8 hours per day, unless special regulations of the labor law envisage a longer working period.

2. Work carried out according to paragraph 1 that exceeds the working time norms established in general or special labor law principles constitutes overtime. This regulation does not affect the earnings rules for work done on work-free days.

[Text]

Article 4

1. An employee in a socialized workplace that has terminated the employee's work contract through no fault of his own or who has terminated his employment during martial law's suspension is entitled, when commencing new employment, to the lowest level of the basic salary appropriate to his new position. However, such an employee's combined earnings may not exceed his last earnings and promotion to a higher level of basic pay and may not occur before he has been 1 year in the new job.

2. The termination of a work contract with an employee in the manner discussed in paragraph 1 brings the consequences which the labor law and this present law foresee for cases in which an employee has terminated his employment.

3. A socialized workplace may sign a work contract with a person intending to take up employment in this workplace only after the employee has presented a job reference from his previous workplace.

4. The regulation contained in paragraph 3 does not apply to a person taking up employment for the first time.

5. The head of a socialized workplace or any other person acting in the name of this workplace who violates the regulations contained in paragraphs 1 or 3 will be subject to a fine ranging from Z10,000 to Z20,000. Decisions on these matters are to be made in the same way as decisions concerning infringements.

Article 5

1. Participating during martial law suspension in a strike, protest action or gathering held contrary to the binding principles of the law and disturbing law and order in a workplace constitutes a serious infringement by an employee of his basic employment duties and may be grounds for the workplace to dismiss him, regardless of the legal basis on which the work contract was settled. If a student commits similar infringements on the premises of his college or outside it, this constitutes a serious infringement of a student's duties and may be grounds to strike him off the students' list.

2. The power to terminate a work contract with an employee in the cases discussed in paragraph 1 rests with the head of the workplace employing such an employee. In cases where such a termination in accordance with the regulations in force is the responsibility of a body, then that body has this power. Striking a student from the students' list is one of the powers of a rector in a higher learning institution.

3. The termination of a work contract or striking a name off a list of students according to paragraph 2 is to take place after investigation proceedings have been held. In such cases, the special principles relating to the way a work contract should be terminated or a student struck off the students' list as well as the principles concerning disciplinary action, do not apply.

Article 6

1. The minister of labor, wages and social services may establish by means of a decree the special principles and procedure to be used in the cases discussed in Articles 2-5 as well as the principles behind finding employment for employees who have resigned or been dismissed and the principles behind establishing the wages discussed in Article 4, paragraph 1.

2. The powers discussed in paragraph 1 in relation to employees in institutions of higher learning rest with the minister of science, higher education and technology, who is to act in these matters in agreement with the ministers and heads of the central bureaus that supervise institutions of higher learning.

3. The minister of science, higher education and technology, acting in agreement with the ministers and heads of those central bureaus that supervise institutions of higher learning, may define by means of a decree the special principles and procedure to be used in cases where students in institutions of higher learning have infringed upon the regulation contained in Article 5, paragraph 1.

Article 7

1. Self-management bodies of employees in state enterprises dealt with in the 25 September, 1981 law on self-management bodies in state enterprises (OFFICIAL GAZETTE Number 24, Item 123) and set up on the basis of this law are to undertake their activities on the basis of the decision reached by their founding body. This decision is to be reached within 3 months of the suspension of martial law.

2. During the suspension of martial law, founding bodies are to appoint or remove the directors of those enterprises to which the regulations contained in Article 2, paragraphs 1 and 2 apply; in these enterprises, the regulations contained in articles 34 and 37 of the 25 September, 1981 law on state enterprises (OFFICIAL GAZETTE Number 24, Item 122) also cease to apply as far as opposition by a workers' council to the appointment or removal of an enterprise's director is concerned.

3. If the activity of self-management bodies among employees in state enterprises infringes upon the legal order or the basic interests of society, then the founding body is to suspend the activity of such a self-management body for a certain time, though not for more than 6 months. During the suspension of this body's activity, the director of the state enterprise is to take over its powers. The renewal of the activity of an employees' self-management body may occur before the period of suspension is up after new elections to this body have been held.

4. During the suspension of martial law, an objection raised by a director of a state enterprise against a decision made concerning the enterprise by its supervising body, which is discussed in Article 57 of the law mentioned in paragraph 2, has no effect on the decision.

Article 8

Associations, societies and social and professional organizations whose activity is suspended on the day martial law is suspended may resume their activity within the time limit set by the body which suspended the activity. However, the activity must not resume later than 6 months from the day martial law was suspended.

Article 9

1. During the suspension of martial law, the restrictions declared on the day of its suspension on the use by foreign citizens residing in Poland of their foreign currency reserves held in foreign currency accounts continue to be in effect.

2. The minister of finance may ease the restrictions mentioned in paragraph 1 by means of a decree.

Article 10

1. During the suspension of martial law, only the following types of offenses are to be dealt with by summary jurisdiction in the general courts and military courts discussed in Chapter 1 of the 12 December 1981 decree dealing with the special proceedings to be instituted during trials of offenses committed during martial law (OFFICIAL GAZETTE Number 29, Item 156):

1) Offenses against the basic economic interests of the state described in Articles 127, 134, and 135 paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Penal Code, as well as the offenses described in Article 74 paragraph 2, in Article 75 paragraph 2 and in Article 76 paragraph 2 of the 26 October, 1971 Financial Offenses Act, if these offenses have been committed under the conditions mentioned in Article 83 paragraph 2 of the Penal Code. (OFFICIAL GAZETTE Number 28, Item 260; 1975 issue Number 16, Item 91 and number 45, Item 234; and 1976 issue number 19, item 122).

2) Offenses against life and health described in Article 148 paragraph 1, Article 158 paragraph 3 and Article 159 of the Penal Code;

3) Offenses against public property described in Articles 201, 202, 208-211, 212 paragraph 2 and 215 paragraph 2 of the Penal Code;

4) Offenses against economic activity described in Articles 220, 221 paragraph 3 and 223 and paragraph 3 of the Penal Code.

Article 11

1. During the suspension of martial law only the following crimes are subject to the extended jurisdiction of the military courts as defined by the rules of Chapter One of the decree dated 12 December 1981, that deal with transferring some crimes to the military courts and that change the system of the military courts and military organizational units of the Prosecutor's Office of the Polish People's Republic during martial law (OFFICIAL GAZETTE No 29, Item 157):

1) Crimes against the basic political interests of the state as defined by Articles 122, 128, paragraph 1 and Article 129 of the Penal Code -- the scope of the jurisdiction over these crimes is the same as that of the general courts before martial law -- by Articles 123, 126, 127 and 130-133 of the Penal Code and by Articles 1 and 2 of the 29 December 1950 law on defense of peace (OFFICIAL GAZETTE No 58, Item 521);

2) Crimes against general security as defined by Article 142 of the Penal Code;

3) Crimes against public order as defined by Article 286 of the penal code;

4) Crimes against the administration of justice as defined by Article 254, paragraph 1 in conjunction with Articles 122, 123 and 124, paragraphs 1 and 2, and Articles 126-128, paragraph 1 of the Penal Code;

5) Crimes against life and property as defined by Articles 148 and 209-211 of the Penal Code if the offender used firearms or explosives, or if he acted together with a person who used such weapons or explosives;

6) Crimes against the universal duty to defend the state, as defined by Articles 221-223, 226 and 227 of the 21 November 1967 law on the universal duty to defend the Polish People's Republic (OFFICIAL GAZETTE of 1979, No 18, Item 111).

2. During the suspension of martial law the military courts which extended jurisdiction, which is mentioned in paragraph 1, also deal -- in line with the principles defined by Article 234 in conjunction with Article 237 of the 21 November 1967 law on the universal duty to defend the Polish People's Republic (OFFICIAL GAZETTE of 1979, No 18, Item 111) -- with the crimes defined by the military section of the Penal Code and committed by persons on duty in civil defense units or militarized units; if the militarized unit has been subordinated to a military commander, the military courts also deal with other crimes committed by these persons, including the crime of failing to report for duty in civil defense units or militarized units, when ordered to do so.

Chapter 3

Changes in Regulations in Force

Article 12

The following changes are introduced into the Penal Code;

1) Article 243 will read:

"Article 243, paragraph 1 -- if the perpetrator of the crime defined by Article 239, paragraph 1 informed the appropriate investigating body about the crime and its circumstances before the body knew about it, the court mitigates punishment to an extraordinary extent or may even waive it.

"Paragraph 2 -- if the perpetrator of the crime defined by Article 241, paragraphs 1 and 2 in conjunction with Article 239, paragraph 2 informed the investigating body about the crime and its circumstances before the body knew about it or disclosed the truth during the first interrogation at the latest, the court mitigates punishment to an extraordinary extent and may even waive it.

"Paragraph 3 -- if the perpetrator of the crime defined by Article 239, paragraphs 2 and 3 or by Article 240 informed the investigating body about the crime and its circumstances before the body knew about it, the court may mitigate punishment to an extraordinary extent or may even waive it.

"Paragraph 4 -- if the perpetrator of the crime defined by Article 241, paragraph 1 or 2 in conjunction with Article 239, paragraph 1 and Article 241, paragraphs 3 and 4 informed the investigating body about the crime and its circumstances before the body knew about it or disclosed the truth during the first interrogation at the latest, the court may mitigate punishment to an extraordinary extent or even waive it.

"Paragraph 5 -- the rules of paragraphs 1-4 are applied as necessary in the case of the instigators and accomplices of the crimes defined in Article 239."

2) Article 273, paragraph 2, will read:

"Paragraph 6 -- he who produces, collects, stores, transports, carries or sends out, in order to propagate, publications, printed matter, tape recordings, films or other devices with the contents defined by Articles 270-272 will be imprisoned for a term between 6 months and 5 years."

3) Article 282 will be followed by Article 282A:

"Article 282A -- He who creates public unrest or disturbances will be imprisoned for up to 3 years."

Article 13

Article 198 of the Penal Code will read: "Article 198, paragraph 1 -- having initiated proceedings, the court or the prosecutor can decide to secure the mail or to record the telephone conversations that are important for the proceedings in hand. This decision can be appealed.

"Paragraph 2 -- informing the defendant about the decision referred to in paragraph 1 may be postponed for the period of time that is necessary for the good of the case.

"Paragraph 3 -- post, telecommunications and customs offices as well as transportation institutions are obliged to make available, if demanded, to the court or the prosecutor the mail and telephone conversation recordings referred to in paragraph 1. Only the court or the prosecutor is entitled to open these items or to order that recordings should be replayed. Protocols are established about the opening of mail, about replays of recordings of telephone conversations and about the destruction of such recordings.

"Paragraph 4 -- items that are of no importance for the penal proceedings should be returned immediately to the proper offices or institutions listed in paragraph 3 and the recorded telephone conversations should be destroyed.

"Paragraph 5 -- in cooperation with the prosecutor general of the Polish People's Republic, the minister of justice will define by decree the procedure of making, securing, storing, reproducing and destroying the recordings of telephone conversations."

Chapter 4

Temporary and Concluding Regulations

Article 14

1. During the suspension of martial law the Council of Ministers may by decree introduce special administrative proceedings with regard to the persons in leading positions in state administration, in other state organizational units, in the socialized economy units, in state schools and in scientific and research units -- who have glaringly violated the legal order or official duties and have thus caused serious social damage.

2. The regulation of paragraph 1 is applied as necessary in the case of persons who violate the legal order or official duties, thus causing serious social damage, and who are members of the collegial bodies empowered to make decisions in the sphere of state administration and the national economy.

3. The person against whom proceedings are initiated as defined by paragraph 1 will be debarred from discharging official duties and functions for the duration of such proceedings on the strength of the verdict issued by the Commission for Special Administrative Proceedings.

4. Verdicts in cases involving special administrative responsibility are issued by:

1) the Commission for Special Administrative Proceedings -- in the first instance;

2) the Central Commission for Special Administrative Proceedings -- in the second instance;

5. The following punishment can be pronounced in proceedings concerning special administrative responsibility:

1) warning,

2) transfer to a lower position,

3) dismissal from a given position or dismissal from the collegial body.

6. The verdicts issued in the first instance in the case of the proceedings concerning special administrative responsibility can be appealed within 7 days to the Central Commission for Special Administrative Proceedings. The decisions of the commission are final.

7. The final legal verdicts issued in the proceedings concerning special administrative responsibility are by law immediately executed by the appropriate bodies.

8. The Council of Ministers defines by decree the organization, principles, composition and procedure of the commissions for special administrative proceedings; the spokesmen active in these proceedings; and the principles and procedures relating to the work of the commissions and to the execution of verdicts.

Article 15

1. The punishment for crimes and offenses that has been legally meted out on the strength of Articles 46-52 of the 12 December 1981 decree on martial law (OFFICIAL GAZETTE No 29, Item 154 and OFFICIAL GAZETTE of 1982, No 3, Item 18) or what has been pronounced during special proceedings introduced for the period of martial law by other legal rules concerning martial law will be executed if it has not been executed in full or in part on the day on which martial law is suspended.

2. In the cases of crimes and offenses that are defined in Articles 46-52 of the decree referred to in paragraph 1 and that have been subjected to legal proceedings that have not ended in a lawful verdict by the day on which martial law is suspended, the relevant regulations will be observed and the resulting punishment executed.

Article 16

1. The cases that concern crimes that have ceased to be subject to summary jurisdiction and that have not been completed by the day on which martial law is suspended will be tried under normal proceedings before the relevant court. The trial proceedings that have been completed before the day of suspension are effective if they have observed the present regulations.

2. The rule of paragraph 1 is applied as necessary to the cases that have not been completed by the day on which martial law is suspended.

Article 17

1. The cases involving the crimes that cease to be subject to the extended jurisdiction of military courts on the day on which martial law is suspended continue to be tried by the same court until the final verdict is reached.

2. However, the appropriate military court may -- on its own initiative or on the motion of the defendant or the military prosecutor -- transfer the case to a general court if the interests of justice are not an obstacle. In such a case the given court begins the trial from scratch.

3. The regulation of paragraph 2 is applied as necessary to the preliminary proceedings, which continue in line with general principles.

Article 18

The suspension of martial law does not infringe upon the martial law regulations listed in the 21 November 1967 law on the general duty to defend the Polish People's Republic (OFFICIAL GAZETTE of 1979, No 18, Item 111).

Article 19

Decisions and other legal enactments made on the strength of the regulations valid during martial law retain their legal force in line with general principles.

Article 20

This law comes into force on the day it is published.

X X X

The official text of this law has been published in the OFFICIAL GAZETTE.

SUSPENSION OF 'SOME' HUMAN RIGHTS ACCORDS

LD231928 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Dec 82

[Excerpts] In accordance with instructions from the Government of the Polish People's Republic, Ambassador Natorf, permanent representative of Poland to the United Nations Organization, sent a note to UN Secretary General Xavier Perez de Cuellar informing him of the following: On the basis of the act passed by the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic on 18 December 1982 regarding the special legal regulations during the period of the suspension of martial law, as of 31 December, the suspension of some provisions of international agreements on human and political rights -- introduced on the basis of the Council of State decree on martial law -- will be repealed or considerably alleviated in Poland.

Ambassador Natorf states in the note that the recent decisions by the Sejm and the Council of State alleviating the temporary curtailment of civic rights, are a confirmation of the consistent implementation of the announcement that those curtailments would not be applied a moment longer than necessary for the supreme national interest.

The above-mentioned decisions, the note stresses, are the result of the progressive stabilization of life in Poland, of the energetic actions to promote national accord, of the reconstruction and enlivening of the economy and of the consistent implementation (?of both) reforms and social renewal.

GOVERNMENT PRESIDIUM APPROVES DRAFT BILLS

LD231920 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 23 Dec 82

[Text] We have just this minute received a communique from the Government Press Bureau that reports that a meeting of the Government Presidium has taken place, chaired by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski. The sociopolitical situation in the country was discussed. The Government Presidium also assessed the state of preparation for introducing the acts on trade unions and the special legal regulations during the martial law suspension.

Conditions will be created to allow trade unions to develop their activities in accordance with the act. The Government Presidium approved the draft decree of the Council of Ministers on the special disciplinary procedure regarding persons occupying executive posts and heard reports by the ministers of labor, wages and social affairs; science, higher education and technology; and justice on the subject of the work on ministerial legal acts for the period of martial law suspension.

The Government Presidium approved draft changes in the act (?on) the code of civil procedure and on the bill that covers court examinations of cases covered by the law on labor and social insurance.

The Government Presidium also decided on coparticipation by Poland during 1983-85 in the construction of the main gas pipeline in the USSR. The participation by Poland in implementing this investment project was recognized as very favorable for our country because it guarantees additional supplies of natural gas to Poland during 1986-90.

Next there was discussion of the issue of raising the qualifications of employees of socialized workplaces and the benefits for which these employees are eligible. The approved draft resolution of the Council of Ministers on this issue envisages a standardization of the regulations and their adaptation to the needs of the economy in conditions of the reform.

In the next legal act approved at the meeting, the general conditions of concluding agreements between units of the socialized economy and agents were defined. The resolution will have a great significance for the expansion of services in the agency system, such as the introduction of retail sales outlets, catering and hotel establishments and tourist campsites.

The Government Presidium also approved a draft resolution of the Council of Ministers on rationed sales of goods in 1983. It assumes the maintenance of the level of supplies to the population up to now.

That was a communique on the meeting of the Government Presidium.

INTERNED SOLIDARITY LEADERS ISSUE STATEMENT

OW262220 Hong Kong AFP in English 2150 GMT 26 Dec 82

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 26 (AFP) -- Eight then-interned members of the banned Polish Solidarity union on December 10 signed a declaration in Bialoleka Prison near here pledging they would "continue to fight for the rights" of their union, according to a text that reached Western journalists here today.

Three of the signatories were freed on December 23. The other five were arrested after being released from internment on charges of conspiracy against the state.

The three men now free are former Solidarity spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz and two regional leaders, Andrzej Sobieraj from Radom central Poland, and Antoni Tokarczuk, from Bydgoszcz, in the northwest.

The five other signatories now in prison awaiting trial were Andrzej Gwiazda, from Gdansk, on the Baltic, Severin Jaworski, Warsaw, Karol Modzelewsi, a former national spokesman, Grzegorz Palka, from Lodz, south Poland and Jan Rulewski, another Bydgoszoz leader.

In their declaration, the eight said that even though outlawed by parliament, Solidarity would "continue to exist through the will of its members" and should "act clandestinely under a temporary leadership until reinstated." The union's "legal base," the text said, was the human rights convention ratified by Poland.

The declaration charged that it was "the first time in the history of Poland" that parliament had "introduced the prison sentence for going on strike."

SOLIDARITY SPOKESMAN RELEASED 23 DECEMBER

NC231956 Paris AFP in English 1917 GMT 23 Dec 82

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 23 (AFP) -- The liberation of the banned Solidarity Union's spokesman for the Warsaw area, Janusz Onyszkiewicz was confirmed here today by informed sources. Mr Onyszkiewicz, 45, a doctor of mathematics, had been a member of Solidarity's national coordinating committee in charge of cultural affairs. He was interned following the proclamation of martial law in December of last year and held at Bialolekan Prison near this capital.

PROGRESS IN REGISTRATION OF TRADE UNIONS NOTED

AU231102 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Dec 82 pp 1, 5

[PAP report: "Registration of 1,661 Trade Unions"]

[Text] So far 1,661 trade unions have been registered and 3,231 applications for registration have been received by the courts. The nuclei of new trade unions -- the founding committees and initiating groups -- are active in every second enterprise entitled to set up trade unions in line with the trade union law.

Of course, this does not mean that 50 percent of employees have already joined the new trade union movement. The process of setting up trade unions from scratch is proceeding slowly and the extent to which new trade unions are representative varies: New trade unions represent between a few and some scores of percentage points of work forces (generally in smaller enterprises). Most employees are still waiting for the fact that will confirm that the new trade unions are really independent, useful and capable of safeguarding employees interests. This is why the sponsors of trade unions are making intensive preparations to begin normal activities as of the beginning of 1983, in line with the work forces' expectations.

Having examined the proposal submitted by the founding committee and the combined initiating groups, on 20 December the voivodship court in Legnica decided to register the independent and self-governing trade union of foundry workers in Zukowice.

The voivodship court in Rzeszow has recently registered trade unions in the largest enterprises of the region -- the steel construction shops of the Polish aviation plants in Rzeszow and Mieleco.

About 1,200 workers have joined so far the new trade union in the Rzeszow plant. The Swidnica branch of the voivodship court in Walbrzych has so far registered 38 new trade unions, including those in the Walbrzych and Victoria coal pits, the Walbrzych coking plants and the Piast cotton mill in Gluszyca. Over 13,000 persons are active in the groups initiating new trade unions in Walbrzych Voivodship.

Having been registered, the 15-member presidium of the Gdansk Port Authority Trade Union has begun drawing up election regulations and the action program for the coming term. Ensuring that the provisions of the port worker charter are observed is one of the main tasks of this trade union.

The work forces in Olsztyn Voivodship enterprises are displaying less and less prejudice against the new trade unions. It is true that the number of applications for registration is still relatively small, but so far several scores of thousands of employees have joined new trade unions. The newly registered trade unions include the independent and self-governing trade unions of the employees of the Stomily tire plant in Olsztyn.

A rapid registration of our trade union, Wlodzimierz Wisniewski, secretary of the founding committee of the independent and self-governing trade union of the employees of the paper mill in Wloclawek, said, will immediately enable us to do things the work forces expect us to do in the new years.

New Unions Refused Registration

LD240006 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 23 Dec 82

[Excerpts] The voivodship courts are continuing to receive applications for the registration of trade unions. On 11 occasions the courts have refused to register a trade union. Such refusals are caused by the fact that the application is filed by an unauthorized person or by the fact that the union statute is incompatible with the provisions of the law, in instances when the trade unionists have refused to adapt the document -- which is of fundamental importance for the union's activities -- to the existing legal norms.

CRIMES SUBJECT TO SUMMARY PROCEEDINGS LISTED

LD232305 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Dec 82

[Text] The catalogue of crimes that are subject to summary proceedings will be considerably limited under the suspension of martial law. Let us recall that the fundamental characteristics of such summary proceedings are the finality of verdicts -- which means that the verdict passed by the first court cannot be appealed -- and more severe sentences. The following criminal cases will fall under summary proceedings under the martial law suspension: cases of crimes against fundamental economic interests of the state, sabotage, appropriation of public property of great value, sale or exportation of large amounts of hard currency, and certain crimes defined in a penal law on fiscal offences.

VATICAN REPORTS GLEMP REMARKS AT CHRISTMAS MASS

LD262252 Vatican City in Polish to Poland 1515 GMT 26 Dec 82

[Text] In the Warsaw Cathedral of St John on Christmas day Archbishop of Poland Jozef Glemp celebrated Holy Mass and delivered a homily and granted a special blessing to the city of Warsaw and Poland as a whole at the end of the ceremony.

In the homily the primate of Poland spoke about the mystery of the birth of Christ as the beginning of life which forces us to think about the need to defend life in a social context as well. The primate stated that joy returned to many families because the internees returned. At the same time, however, he said, we still feel profound sympathy for those families that are suffering because of the absence of their close relatives and are waiting for their freedom, for their return to their families. We want to enjoy life to the full and, therefore, we are scared of all restrictions on this life. We cannot forget either, the primate of Poland said among other things, the set back experienced by those who are being removed from their posts at the height of their capabilities, strength and energy, people who could be serving the nation very competently, but who have different views and attitudes.

However, we cannot give up. Within us there is life and the will to experience joy on the way to the eternal life. In this joy we join the holy father in our thoughts. At this point, the primate quoted an excerpt from the letter he received from John Paul II on the occasion of the Christmas holiday.

The holy father writes: In my spirit I am breaking the wafer with the primate and with all shepherds of the church in Poland, with members of monasteries who rally men and women, with the faithful, with all people of good will in our homeland, with all together and with everyone individually. I am asking the immortal king of the centuries that during these difficult moments for our country, the church in Poland, which has always been so very aware of the mission which has been entrusted to it by Christ and at the same time which is so strongly linked to the nation, rooted in its soul and history, will read in the holy spirit, with love and responsibility, the signs of time according to the recommendations by the Second Vatican Council, so that it will point to all roads to salvation and lead through them, so that it will remain faithful to its history and tradition through its service to the homeland and to the nation, to the nation's aspirations, its good, dignity and identity. John Paul II also confirmed in his letter that he lives in the hope that he will visit his homeland in 1983.

PZPR, ZSL DEPUTIES' CLUBS MEET 17 DECEMBER

AU211208 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18/19 Dec 82 p 2

[PAP report: "Meetings of PZPR and ZSL Deputies' Clubs"]

[Text] On 17 December, on the eve of the Sejm plenary session, the Deputies' Clubs of the PZPR and the ZSL met. The deputies acquainted themselves with the planned agenda and subject matter of the parliamentary talks.

During the meeting of the PZPR Club, which was chaired by Deputy Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Central Committee secretary Marian Orzechowski told the deputies about the formation of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth's Provisional National Council, and further about the birth and development of this national rebirth movement. The movement's purpose, he said, is to strengthen socialism in Poland, to make this political system acceptable and supportable to most of society and to make it express the aspirations of society. By its very essence, this movement may stimulate, on the one hand, the authorities' activities which conform to society's interests, and on the other hand, society's activities which conform to the country's interests. Orzechowski recalled the 20 July declaration made by the political parties and by Catholic organizations. This document outlined the idea behind the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, an idea serving to gather all patriotic forces around a definite activity program.

Next, Minister Stanislaw Ciosek spoke about the formation of founding committees and initiating groups for the new trade unions. He described the rebirth of the trade union movement as a slow but steady process. Up to now, 2,500 applications to set up new trade unions have been made to the courts.

Deputy Zdzislaw Czeszejko-Sochacki presented the deputies with a report on the Sejm talks by the Commission for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice and by the Commission for Legislative Work on the subject of the draft laws which will be examined by the chamber on Saturday. The PZPR Deputies' Club expressed its recognition of the work of both commissions which serves to improve both draft laws.

Sejm Marshal Stanislaw Gucwa took part in the ZSL Deputies' Club meeting, which was chaired by Deputy Boleslaw Struzek.

Some basic problems facing agriculture and the food economy were discussed, with special emphasis on the financial problems besetting these sectors of the economy. These issues were examined both in the light of the continuing work on the draft budget for next year and against the background of the implementation of the tasks facing agriculture. It was stressed that the agricultural, economic and financial system which has been changed in the past 2 years had been mainly shaped by prices and the relations between prices and goods and by generally-available credits. At the same time, certain subsidies were retained only to a considerably limited extent. On this basis, uniform principles for financing the whole of agriculture were accepted.

Indicating the advantages of such solutions, it was stated that when making further essential improvements to the system of financing, it is essential to take extra care that the changes that are being introduced should stimulate a growth in agricultural production and an improvement in the use of farming potential and should encourage young people to remain in rural areas. Thus, when adjusting prices, one should aim to adopt more favorable price relations and maintain the correct balance between the incomes of rural people and urban people. As far as detailed matters are concerned, it was demanded that biological research in agriculture should once again be subsidized, as well as the production of material for sowing and breeding. The problem was also raised of financing and carrying out land reclamation projects, and it was agreed that this is an exceptionally important topic.

JARUZELSKI-LED DELEGATION RETURNS FROM MOSCOW

LD231626 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 23 Dec 82

[Text] The party and state delegation of the Polish People's Republic, led by General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation, has returned to Warsaw from Moscow, where it was attending the celebrations marking the 60th anniversary of the creation of the USSR.

The delegation was comprised of Henryk Jablonski, Roman Malinowski, Edward Kowalczyk, Jozef Czyrek, Zenon Komender, and Stanislaw Kociolek.

The delegation was welcomed by members of the supreme political and state authorities.

Visit Termed 'Successful'

LD231840 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Dec 82

[Excerpts] The Polish party and state delegation that went to Moscow to attend the celebration marking the 60th anniversary of the USSR, returned to Warsaw today.

After arriving at the airport, Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski made a short statement to journalists in which he assessed the visit and said that it was very successful and useful. He stressed the friendliness with which Polish problems are approached by the Soviet leadership. He pointed to the complete identity of views on all questions discussed during the talks concerned by the delegation.

TRYBUNA LUDU SUPPORTS ANDROPOV PROPOSALS

LD230955 Warsaw PAP in English 0707 GMT 23 Dec 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Dec -- TRYBUNA LUDU said that Soviet leader Yuriy Andropov's recent speech in Moscow contained proposals which, if accepted by the American side, could ensure immediately enormous benefits to mankind.

The paper termed the (?Soviet) newest (?disarmament) proposals as "matter-of-fact, irrefutable in their logic and taking into account the interests of all sides concerned".

While declaring the Soviet Union's readiness to reduce, on the basis of reciprocity, the number of its missiles on its European territory, Andropov "declared openness to all proposals concerning other kinds of weaponry" on a parity basis at every stage of reduction to safeguard the sense of security of the sides.

"That sense of security excluding the striving by one side to an edge should create conditions for a businesslike, rational (?discussion) on the further stage of disarmament, for the building of confidence and cooperation which, let us add, would not only liquidate the threat of a nuclear catastrophe and contribute to lessening tension and nervousness in international life, but also allow to channel enormous capital of human thought and material means towards aims serving the well-being and cultural development of mankind."

FISHERMEN APPLY TO SWEDEN FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM

LD241120 Stockholm International Service in Swedish 1000 GMT 24 Dec 82

[Text] Two men from a Polish fishing vessel have asked for political asylum in Sweden after their boat had to be towed to Kalmar owing to engine failure. The other three on board have declared that they want to return home. The fishing boat sent up distress rockets off the southern end of Poland, after which a Finnish ship arrived to give assistance. The Poles claimed that they had engine failure. After a Swedish coast guard vessel had towed the Polish boat into harbor, it was discovered that the engine failure was because the fuel had run out. The crew was also suffering from a shortage of food and money. The police contacted the Polish Embassy to arrange the return of those fishermen who want to go back to Poland.

SAWPY FEDERAL CONFERENCE ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Cetinic Address

AU231445 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Dec 82 p 2

[Report on speech by Marin Cetinic, president of the Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference, at a session of the SAWPY Federal Conference in Belgrade on 16 December]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 16 Dec -- The delegates of the SFRY Assembly will adopt in the coming days the resolution on the implementation of the social plan and economic stabilization in the coming year. What is at stake is a very important political document which elaborates on the long-term program tasks of economic stabilization with a firm reliance on one's own forces. These tasks demand radical changes in all fields of work and life, ranging from development plant to daily behavior in business operations and spending both by associated labor organizations, self-managing interest communities and sociopolitical communities, as well as by every working man and citizen, Marin Cetinic, president of the Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference, pointed out at the beginning of his introductory speech at the session of the Federal Conference today.

Having remarked that "the coming year, in which we will have to solve even bigger problems than this year, will be one of the most economically difficult ones in the life of new Yugoslavia," Cetinic said:

I believe that we are completely unanimous that in the struggle to realize the set goals of economic stabilization, the most important thing is that we are united in our views, in our measures and in responsibility when implementing the measures. We know from experience that efficiency in implementing social tasks is always most closely linked with the development of self-management and socialist democracy.

In the present difficult economic situation there is very much room indeed for new initiatives and advances and creative work. In general we must emphasize more and expand everything that is progressive and creative and that arises from the present situation. We must not reconcile ourselves with occurrences of faintheartedness or even feelings of being powerless, which after a prolonged period of relative well-being have overtaken some people. We will oppose them with a new quality of production, better results in business operations and productivity of labor, greater responsibility, and more economical and more cultural life.

We must get out of this situation as soon as possible, and we will do it by intensifying -- through comprehensive self-managing and delegate activities, without which a democratic synthesis in the process of harmonizing the pluralism of self-managing interests is not possible -- at every step our responsibility to consistently implement the positions to reduce investments to realistic material limits, to slow down the growth of common and public spending and to reduce administrative costs, overheads, expense accounts and all other spending that increases production costs.

In general we must do more for a creative elaboration of the political system of socialist self-management and for a substantive permeation of the political and economic systems, strengthening the role of organized socialist forces in delegate decisionmaking.

We must not forget for a minute that we achieved great results when we relied in our development above all on our own forces. We did this in the national revolution, and in the period of reconstruction and building and during the time we broke all the pressures and economic blockades against our socialist community. We have always seen and we see in this a guarantee of our progress and the independence of our country.

We are living in a time that demands deep changes in the behavior of all of us. Economizing should become a new quality in our lives; we do not comprehend it as ascetism and deprivation but as a necessary more rational way of behaving by both producers and consumers, as a step forward in building the culture of work and life.

There is no reason to accept every shortage and ascribe it to objective difficulties. The SAWP must always be able to make a difference between objective difficulties and a lack of organization or even unscrupulous and malicious behavior and blackmail in the market. When it is a matter of basic foods one should insist even on drastic social sanctions against those guilty of creating an artificial shortage so as to extort an increase in prices or fresh subsidies. There is no need to make a special effort to show to what extent such disturbances in supplies create insecurity and disquiet and even political problems among the citizens.

Further in his speech Marin Cetinic said that a broad discussion in the republics and provinces, in the federation and in the Federal Conference Presidium preceded the drafting of the document that contains the directions of SAWP activities in implementing the long-term program of economic stabilization.

We have always proceeded from the premise that our socialist development cannot run spontaneously but only as a result of premediated and creative activities of the organized socialist forces that direct the revolutionary disposition of the masses toward truly progressive contents. It is precisely in the development of this organized process that all the strength of the SAWP comes to expression. In the SAWP, the sociopolitical and social organizations and associations of citizens coordinate their activities and political action along the way of liberating the undreamed of possibilities and initiatives for the further progressive development of the self-managing society and the expansion of the actual dimensions of man's freedom.

In building such a broad front of the working people and citizens and organized socialist forces, the conditions are being created for the general political climate and the feeling among the people in favor of taking on tasks and responsibilities to be transformed into concrete political action. It must be said, however, that in the composition of cadres and in the method of work of both the organizations and organs of the SAWP, remnants of sectarianism and of forum encapsulation are still present. Many League of Communists organs continue to treat the SAWP as their transmission belt, and it is a fact that SAWP organs are mostly or even completely composed of League of Communists members. Such a situation does not contribute to the development of broad political actions among the masses, nor does it cultivate the habit that proposals and alternative views are freely expressed and that democratic life is further advanced.

We must therefore achieve the strengthening of the front role of the SAWP so that the activities of the working people and citizens, developing under the leading role of the League of Communists in our sociopolitical and social organizations, may be transformed daily into a unified action and may be set up as the political basis of delegate decisionmaking.

With such broad political actions we will prevent the opponents of self-managing socialism from working against our system. Various nationalists, ultraradicals, anarcho-liberals, dogmatists and all other opponents of our socialist road are rearing their heads in the present difficulties. I do not wish to dramatize the situation and I have no reason to do so, but I have plenty of reason to say that the enemies of our social system are trying to work against us not only with overt attacks on all the values of our revolution and the foundations of our system, but also by encouraging crime, corruption, abuses and other acts opposed to the stabilization policy. It is therefore even more our obligation to regard these evils as blows at the very foundations of our socialist self-managing society.

Therefore, we must struggle against everything that devalues our society not only through organs of authority, courts, prosecutors, inspections and workers control organs, but also on the widest political basis.

We expect that our comrades in the press, radio and television -- fully supported by the positive feelings in the public -- will work on the line of economic stabilization and further strengthening of self-management. The self-managing and social organs working in this sphere are obliged to implement their powers and social obligation with full responsibility. One should not allow individuals in the information media to be the speakers for the enemies of our system, to transform these media into their private tribunes, or to be simple advocates of various interests. If we are determined to keep all the social organs under constant social criticism, the same must apply to the information media.

As in all spheres of life, criticism is the best way in this sphere to advance the social role of the information media.

It is in fact incomprehensible that in the year of a record agricultural production, the market is short of basic products.

We must struggle for more organization and responsibility, for we have witnessed lines forming outside shops and people even leaving their work to buy meat, oil, milk, detergents and even flour. Under such conditions, some places have resorted to coupons and other limitations of sales. This cannot be accepted, and we cannot reconcile ourselves to it. We must resolutely stand against the situation that leads to supplies being closed within the republics and even within communes and local communities. We see the only actual solution in association between production and trade organizations, in a better organization and more responsible behavior of the commercial network. There are no proper impulses to increased production as long as we are turning within the narrow frameworks of local markets and distribution schemes designed by the officaldom.

Representatives Elected

LD231738 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1335 GMT 23 Dec 82

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Dec (TANJUG) -- The Central Council of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia today elected its delegation in the SAWPY Federal Conference and four representatives in the Federal Councils.

Bogoljub Nedeljkovic was elected representative in the Federal Council for National Defense, Dusan Bogdanov in the Federal Council for Questions Relating to the Social Order, Alija Avdic in the Federal Council for Economic Development and Economic Policy, and Josip Franic in the Federal Council for International Relations.

The following were elected members of the delegation of the Central Council of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia in the SAWPY Federal Conference: Bogoljub Nedeljkovic, Dusan Bogdanov, Lazar Djordjic, Stojan Stojcevski, Milan Petrovic, Marija Murn, Milica Mumelas and Milica Peljic. As from today, Bogoljub Nedeljkovic and Dusan Bogdanov are trade union members of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium.

SAWP Lacks Strength

AU231722 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Dec 82

[Text] The SAWPY Federal Conference sections for sociopolitical relations and for the development of the SAWP discussed the implementation of the constitutional role of this organization at a joint session.

At this gathering, it was pointed out among other things that the SAWP does not possess sufficient action strength to eradicate the numerous shortcomings and distortions in society which prevent the implementation of the economic stabilization policy.

In other words, it was stressed that the SAWP does not fully implement its constitutional role, primarily because its work is being conducted in forums in which narrow groups of people are involved. It was particularly stressed in the discussion that the SAWP must monitor the work of the organs of power and administration more than it has, carrying out social control and encouraging responsibility to be established.

VOJVODINA SAWP REFUSES TO SIGN ACCORD 18 DEC

AU231058 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Dec 82 p 3

[D. Sverko report]

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 17 Dec -- At its session today the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Serbia discussed a proposed social accord on the July uprising anniversary celebrations with a view to permanently coordinating all matters on marking the beginning of the revolution in the republic. Among other things it was planned to hold the central celebration marking 7 July in Bela Crkva every fifth year, while this main celebration would "rotate" among regions, depending on agreement, during other years. The accord has provoked a special reaction by Vojvodina.

The presidium was acquainted with the letter of the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference and its view that such a document need not be adopted. If adopted, Vojvodina would not sign it. It was said that these issues had already been settled by federal documents and that July celebrations should be held in as many places as possible. The Presidium was informed of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference session which will most probably support the proposed accord.

It was stressed at the session that this attitude on the part of Vojvodina by no means contributes to strengthening unity in Serbia. Dragomir Milojevic, member of the Presidium, stressed that the proposed republican document is by no means in conflict with the federal one. On the contrary, the federal document leaves space for the republics to conclude a concrete agreement and adopt programs on the manner of marking the occasion. It was noted that each republic holds a central celebration and that July celebrations will be held and marked in all the places where they have been held and marked in the past.

It was decided that before adopting a final stand talks should be held once again with the respective organs of Vojvodina. The republican conference, which has to decide on this document at its next session on 22 December, will be informed on the progress of these talks. It has been decided that an answer be given to some statements of the provincial SAWP conference that are considered unacceptible. Since there is not enough time for concrete changes, the issues in question will be coordinated after an accord on July celebrations is adopted -- Vukoje Bulatovic, president of the republican conference concluded. It was decided that other sociopolitical organizations, in addition to the already mentioned ones, can also be signatories to the accord if they want.

LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE HOLDS FOURTH PLENUM

LD231400 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1307 GMT 23 Dec 82

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 22 (TANJUG) -- The 4th plenum of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee will be held here in Belgrade tomorrow, Friday.

The Central Committee will review the implementation of the conclusions of its 3d plenum, conclusions which clearly and precisely define the LCY obligations in the implementation of the economic stabilization policy. The introductory statement at the session is expected to be submitted by LCY Presidency Secretary Nikola Stojanovic.

Stojanovic Report

LD241748 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0817 GMT 24 Dec 82

["Prerelease of report by Nikola Stojanovic, secretary of the LCY Central Committee presidium, due to be submitted at today's session of the LCY Central Committee" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Dec (TANJUG) -- We adopted the conclusions of the third LCY Central Committee session at an exceptionally sensitive socioeconomic and political moment. The economic situation, which is very complex and grave, was also considerably dramatized at the time. This was emphasized by the absence, despite our accord at the 12th congress, of a way out and of the appropriate action aimed by the subjective factor at solving the exacerbated problems. The social climate which began to develop threatened to set us apart from the self-managing system, and a certain impression was being created that we were beginning to neglect its basic instruments and values as if we were being eroded by lack of belief in its strength. There were also signs of the weakening of the trust felt in the League of Communists and other objective forces. We were losing sight of the fight that in a difficult and complex economic situation the power of the subjective orientation and the vision of the way out from the existing problems can and must pave the way for the indispensable breakthroughs in the quality of economic activity, which are the prerequisite for stabilization and a dynamic economic development and, at the same time, of the further development of self-managing socioeconomic relations in the economy and all society.

Consequently, the conclusions of and discussion at the third Central Committee session are significant, above all, because they snapped us out of the feeling of impotence, hopelessness and lethargy. They gave us a serious warning and made us dutybound to begin, with more responsibility and in keeping with our fundamental ideopolitical orientations, to approach social and economic problems, bearing in mind their exceptional complexity and gravity. This is to say that we unanimously agreed that there is no way other than relying to an even greater extent on ourselves and our own potentials, which are not small. Bearing in mind the activity of all the social forces as a whole, we may note that there is an increase in the capacity for taking initiative in the organizations and organs of the League of Communists and in their specific dedication to the settling of socioeconomic problems.

Being grounded in the assessments and the lines of action determined at the 12th LCY congress, the conclusions of the third session are also longer-term in character. Consequently, in appraising the results which we have achieved in their realization, we should see as objectively as possible whether the criteria, measures and instruments of economic policy and systemic solutions which we are adopting at the various organizational levels of society consoldiate the fundamental self-managing line of action, the position, rights and responsibilities of workers in associated labor, without which the realization of economic stabilization -- or, in other words, settling the accumulated contradictions and eliminating shortcomings in socioeconomic relations and economic development -- cannot even be imagined. In doing so, we must be very critical, but very realistic and responsible for all the assessments, because on them we must base our estimates of future trends in our economy and in our society as a whole.

We must be realistic, because it would be out of the question for us, too, to succumb to chaos and be seized by the feeling anything can be resolved simply and quickly by taking a short cut.

The disruptions in our economy, which have accumulated over quite a long period of its economic development, are such as to require greater efforts and radical changes in the manner in which economic activity is carried out and in the way of behavior, as well as for more time for surmounting them. We must have a critical attitude when assessing our efforts and practice, so as to be able, with all the necessary realism which has always guided the LCY, to eliminate problems efficiently and adopt in a proper manner -- which is to say without any superficiality, voluntarism, politcial nervousness or schematism -- adequate measures and activities which will not only yield short-term results and settle current questions and problems but will follow the line toward long-term goals and tasks set at the 12th LCY Congress. Precisely because problems are complex, and many of them are long-term, it is necessary to be critical in our assessments to avoid falling under the illusion that we have found solutions with short-term measures and can delay the necessary, more radical action. On the other hand we must energetically oppose any generalized assessments and criticism, often clad in the clothes of false progressiveness, which offer no solutions. The LCY must be the exponent of the struggle to find a way out of economic difficulties and must not for one single moment lose sight of its responsibility for the continuity of our socialist self-managing development. It cannot reconcile itself opportunistically to any pragmatic solutions or remain passive during confrontations which concern our fundamental social and political orientations. This is also how we were asked to behave in the conclusions of the second LCY Central Committee session, and it is in this that their longer-lasting significance lies.

I believe that this criterion is also indispensable in our analyses and future ideopolitical actions if we wish them to continue to be broadly accepted and supported by the working class, working people and citizens. This makes the obligations and responsibility of the Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee Presidium for the consistent and resolute implementation of the conclusions of the third session all the greater.

In dealing with certain delicate problems and dilemmas which imposed themselves (or were deliberately stressed by individual forces), the conclusion represented the basic approach to finding solutions. They represented and continue to represent a contribution to strengthening unity in the League of Communists and in society as a whole on issues of economic and development policies. Consequently, regardless of the numerous confrontations which we shall have, an even more consistent use should be made of them on the basis of our fundamental orientations in the further immediate ideopolitical activity, all the more so as in 1983 and later on we shall be faced by major problems which we shall not be able to solve successfully unless ideopolitical and action unity in the League of Communists and throughout our society on the direction of our future development and on its class social exponents continues to grow stronger and develop. This unity should also manifest itself in public pronouncements by the leading cadres, in which connection it is necessary to overcome the phenomena of uncoordinated assessments of the economic situation, which have a negative effect on the working people's and citizens' efforts to implement the stabilization policy.

Despite the relatively short period of time, during which no radical changes could be expected in economic developments, we are nevertheless obliged, from the viewpoint of the essence of the conclusions, to assess the existing economic situation, results and problems, so that the basis for our future activity can be as realistic as possible. We must note that the economic situation is still grave and that, despite efforts and certain results, numerous clearly unfavorable trends continue to be at work. This confirms the accuracy of the assessment that what we have are deeper disruptions which call for radical changes and that we shall not be able to achieve a speedy and easy change in the desired direction with regard to our economic trends. However, this is what we must strive for, and we must always bear this task in mind. We must open this prospect and do all we can to have it become reality within a foreseeable period of time.

We cannot restrict ourselves to short-term activities, though we must make moves of that kind, too, especially in the present situation, because even the best-conceived long-term concept would be no use without the support of specific economic relations and the consolidation of self-managing social property relations in social reproduction. We must make projections of the results of our total activity, in order to be able to judge objectively in what direction our society is moving and to keep creating the objective conditions for considerably more favorable trends in our development on socialist self-managing foundations, because this is -- I wish to stress -- our historical responsibility.

Bearing in mind this kind of approach and making use of the numerous sources of information especially from the central and provincial committees, we can make several more important statements. Activity by the League of Communists and all socialist subjective forces and measures by the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council have contributed to changing the attitude toward work and the realization of stabilization tasks. In associated labor there has been a considerable increase in activity and there is a strengthened conviction that problems in reproduction can and must be resolved first and foremost within associated labor in its many reproduction and income-based links, which is an important prerequisite and guarantee that there will be a positive change in our economy. There are numerous examples which demonstrate the creative work and business atmosphere in our economic organizations. This has lasted for a year so far, this, so-to-speak, state of mobility which, as a result of delays in adopting solutions in the sphere of conditions of acquisition and distribution of income leaves deep economic, political and psychological consequences. Despite this, great efforts are being made to achieve plan tasks, and in some places they are being exceeded. There is a more critical attitude toward weaknesses and the question of responsibility for work is being intensified. Working people increasingly understand the need for greater economies. There is an increased consciousness among workers that we can and must resolve complex economic problems through our own efforts. There is readiness for self-denial. The resources of production, work time, and free Saturdays are being used to an even greater extent, and in other ways a contribution is being made to increased and better business activity.

The strengthening of enthusiasm for work and responsibility for work is an essential characteristic of the situation in many organizations of associated labor in the economy, and League of Communist organizations and leaderships have given significant stimulus to this, but this is also a result of the general state of consciousness and striving on the part of the working class and working people, of socialist patriotism and the conviction that the decisive battle for stabilization can no longer be postponed.

Of course, in pointing to these positive things which characterize our relations, I in no way wish to generalize, for there are still organizations of associated labor and environments in which the struggle for economic stabilization has not started to the necessary extent, nor have the subjective forces gone into action. There is laziness, indiscipline and neglect, abuses and similar phenomena. In some environments subjective forces, primarily communists, are not conscious of the difficulties in question and the tasks required for them. In some political and social structures verbal support is offered for conclusions but too few specific efforts are made toward stabilization, and too much attention is paid to losing nothing while gaining something from any new measures. However, when we bear in mind all the positive changes and increased business activity -- although much still needs to be done to develop this to the desired level -- we must return to the question of whether all this, in total, is ensuring the results which mark the desired turning point in implementing the economic stabilization policy and general development.

Unfortunately, we are still not achieving this. We must ask why, and embark on a deeper objective analysis of the causes.

The question also arises of whether in general the necessary socioeconomic conditions have been created to motivate our economic subjects economically, particularly in relation to income, and at the same time encourage them to work more productively and efficiently in relations of joint economic activity with social resources as required by the Constitution and Law on Associated Labor. Without claiming to answer this delicate but essential question completely, I believe there are major problems here and that our efforts -- expressed in the measures already taken in this sphere -- are insufficient and very patchy, as well as being contradictory, and this causes confusion and lack of confidence in the economy and must be reckoned with in the coming period.

Parallel with ideopolitical action by the League of Communits, the trade unions, and the Socialist Alliance, there have been activities by the SFRY Assembly and Federal Executive Council which resulted in adoption of a series of measures aimed at stabilization. We are convinced that these measures are necessary and justified and essentially aimed at carrying out the conclusions of the third session, regardless of the fact that we are conscious that some of them are short-term, restrictive and palliative. But we cannot avoid the fact that a series of organizations of associated labor, by all accounts, are making justified reproaches that even these measures do not ensure the necessary security from the viewpoint of at least minimal conditions of economic activity, conditions of acquiring income and some relatively long-lasting aspects which might be planned, agreed on, and on this basis formulated as ambitious business activities.

Maybe in all this there is some exaggeration, but some people who wish to hide their own inability constantly blame measures, society, and so forth. We must bear this situation in mind constantly and consider it critically, for our experiences have demonstrated that in the sphere of socioeconomic conditions of acquiring income or workers' control of income and the surplus of labor we have had most problems to date, as well as most omissions, inconsistency and lack of persistence. Of course, it is a question of complex economic and social issues, and when I point to them I am not doing it to create an illusion that there are simple solutions and that someone can carry them out. On the contrary, I believe that we must also consider our own subjective weaknesses, that sometimes there are insufficient will and insufficient creative organized efforts to transform our principled orientations into specific solutions. All in all, we must sharpen the question of competence and responsibility in all institutions of the self-management system as regards finding the best solutions in the given situation which will strengthen the constitutional position of associated labor and create the necessary conditions for much more successful economic activity and management of social resources and income.

Many discussions being held in our society today follow these lines. But there are also some quite aggressive statements which in fact openly seek a change in the fundamental bases of our socioeconomic and political system and blame the system of socialist self-management for all the difficulties. In the LCY we will not tolerate criticism which proceeds from such positions which are opposed in a class sense, for it introduces disunity and confusion and demobilizes creative work which would enable the LCY and all social forces to reorient social trends more successfully and determine the direction and content of the continued revolutionary change in production and general social relations.

Throughout 1982 the economic stabilization policy was implemented in exceptionally difficult foreign and internal conditions. International economic and political trends are extremely unfavorable. These trends have a strong effect on our economy, much stronger than is frequently estimated. The difficulties which arise out of international economic and political relations have also affected all the developed countries with many mutual conflicts. The developing countries and less developed countries bear the greatest burden of this.

This shows that we must constantly strengthen the unity of our socialist self-management community by even greater dependence on our own efforts and considerably more rapid adaptation of economic and development policy to trends in the world economy, and that we must solve internal development problems. In international relations, and in particular in the Nonaligned Movement, we must struggle constantly to eliminate major economic and political problems which burden the world and to set up a new, more just international economic order. It is our resolute view that in solving current economic difficulties we will not tolerate or allow any kind of pressure from outside which might threaten our economic and political independence.

Difficulties in socioeconomic development and social reproduction, which were assessed in total at the 12th LCY Congress, arose primarily because we were insufficiently persistent and firm in carrying out in social practice our orientations on stabilization policy and systemic solutions, and we were rather hesitant and inconsistent in this, although the social processes warned us that such behavior was causing even greater problems.

Even in such conditions we achieved some positive results in individual sectors of socioeconomic life. These are achieved primarily in productive associated labor -- that is, in work collectives where, even in exceptionally difficult internal and external conditions of economic activity, there is a stable and increased volume of production and growth in income and exports on good foundations, as well as a growth in the value of social resources, economies in resources, material and energy; consumption is kept within agreed limits and there is concern about the use of every dinar of income and accumulated resources. Here, the implementation of the stabilization policy has become an everyday attitude and there is a strong awareness of the role of the worker, his creative work and the strength of socialist self-management. We must try to ensure that all organizations of associated labor adopt such a practice and that it is practised as widely as possible in society.

In many production organizations working people have understood that the maintenance of the continuity of production, especially for export, on the basis of high-quality factors of economic activity, is one of our most major tasks this year and they have given priority to this. They have increased production for export, working in several shifts, even on Saturdays, Sundays and on holidays. These organizations have also been the exponents of the battle for joint economic activity and the development of income-based relations and the self-management pooling of labor and resources on the principles of acquiring joint income. This has also been helped by the actions of economic chambers, organs of the republics, provinces and of the federation. Although we cannot be satisfied with trends in foreign trade, it should be stressed that there has been a considerable increase in the proportion of exports to imports; the trade deficit has been reduced as has the deficit in the current balance of payments.

Ensuring the country's foreign liquidity and paying off debts to other countries have been set as the priority task in the conclusions of the third session. It was shown that until then we had not taken account of everything, or we had not been aware of all aspects of this problem. Therefore, there was a lack of suitable and timely socioeconomic actions, and the situation started to deteriorate significantly. The LCY Central Committee had the effect of initiating a more organized consideration and resolution of this problem. Although there were great difficulties, we regularly paid off our obligations to other countries, and this is of major political, not only economic, significance in view of Yugoslavia's independent position and its reputation in the world. It is very significant that information about problems and results in this sphere has become more accessible to associated labor and the whole of our community. Our political decision to persist on this course is very important, for we know that enormous tasks await us in the next few years.

When we evaluate these efforts and the positive results, the question arises of a comprehensive consideration of this experience. The regular payment of debts to other countries is not only an economic and financial question. In our conditions and relations it acquires broader significance. It is not merely a matter of whether to collect the necessary foreign currency resources and pay off our obligations, although we know there is no question about this, but a matter of developing suitable socio-economic relations in the sphere of expanded reproduction as a whole, especially in economic relations with other countries. However, we must also take note of some tendencies and practices which must be eliminated effectively. For example, attempts have been made to pass debts on to others, attempts have been made to make them the concern of organizations other than those which have made use of foreign loans; and an alleged justification of the socialization of foreign debts is also discussed. There are justifications for the views that certain elements and tendencies towards centralist decision-making and so forth in this sector have also been strengthened and that major ideopolitical tasks await us, as well as the obligation, in the context of the policy being proposed for next year, of finding solutions which will ensure development and efficient paying off of loans, and of bringing this, both in essence and in method, into line with the system of socialist self-management.

After the recent economic measures were taken, the dinar gained strength as the sole method of payment in the country. The dinar's foreign exchange rate also improved in foreign currency markets in many countries in relation to other currencies. There was a curb on the numerous instances of acquiring or selling products for foreign currency, private clearing and unjustified and extravagant exporting of dinars from the country.

The results in agricultural production are one of the basic factors which have had a positive effect on stabilization trends, for it is in this sphere that the greatest growth in production took place. Results achieved in increasing the number of those employed and in the constant growth of savings in dinars and foreign currency in other spheres of socioeconomic life are important elements in carrying out the stabilization policy.

There have been significant efforts in society to save energy, raw materials, foreign currency and other means of reproduction. Nonproductive outgoings have been reduced -- those spent on entertainment, various meetings, travel, fuel, passenger cars and so forth -- although many people still squander resources, and this includes many unnecessary journeys abroad. Rationalizing work and business measures are being introduced not only in organizations of associated labor but in the whole of society. Examples are: a more rational use of work times, better use of transport resources, and so forth. There is a stronger climate in favor of more rational and responsible management of social resources, respect for real material possibilities and economic criteria, and more forceful curbs on instances of eager spending of hard-earned income.

In relation to the serious economic problems, which are accompanied by elements of a very serious situation in individual spheres of reproduction, the results, when viewed as a whole, are unsatisfactory. In a large number of production organizations of associated labor there have been pronounced difficulties in ensuring the normal rhythm of production. The reorienting of production in favor of exports is still not enough. Many organizations of associated labor have not demonstrated their activity and there has been a lack of support by other economic and social subjects for spreading the self-management pooling of labor and resources, on the basis of specific programs, so as to achieve joint production for export. Production of raw materials and reproduction materials is lagging behind. Therefore, especially in the existing balance of payments conditions, many work collectives have reduced production and the use of capacity, and workers from those organizations of associated labor have gone on enforced leave.

In these collectives there is a reduction in income and social problems are made worse. Unsatisfactory labor productivity and a fall in the quality of economic activity have been coming to the fore for many years now. This warns us that extensiveness in economic activity is increasing. We must equip ourselves better and make radical changes in our method of business activity, above all in accordance with world market criteria.

Many other problems have also become more serious, such as nonfulfillment of legal obligations on issuing foreign currency for importing oil, for foreign liquidity and other agreed aims, pressures on the Yugoslav National Bank for foreign currency loans and failure to pay back such loans, the lack of foreign liquidity of many banks and other problems.

Social action and numerous restrictive measures have led to a certain drop in investment consumption. The process of reexamination of investments has started in all the republics and provinces. The total results, however, lag behind sociopolitical activity. Many former shortcomings and mistakes continue within the framework of somewhat reduced investment consumption. There is no coordination nor planning harmonization within associated labor nor among the republics and provinces and the tendency to make the economic structure territorially complete continues, especially within the framework of the republics and provinces. Though there are positive changes, many investment projects are still based on unrealistic foundations, on the use of turnover funds for investments, on the issuing of various securities and papers without any real cover. The real decisions on investments are still largely not made by workers, but by narrow management structures in the organizations of associated labor, banks and self-managing communities, independently of the agreed development policy, with the support of individuals and individual government, party and other organs.

There is criticism according to which our investment policy was wrong, that it is based on loans raised abroad, that this was the cause of the present economic difficulties. The intention behind this is to call in question the policy of development during the entire postwar period. In the future we must most resolutely reject concepts and criticism of this kind. Apart from socialist self-management, our investment policy made possible material and social development of an exceptional dynamic kind, with deep transformations of the social and economic structures, the like of which have been achieved by hardly any other country in the world, and has enabled us to join the ranks of medium-developed industrial countries.

In general, unfavorable trends in joint consumption and personal incomes have been halted only partly. Debates on establishing the responsibility for such antistabilization trends and for the failure to achieve the free exchange of labor have shown that the behavior of some of the basic organizations of the League of Communists is extremely irresponsible and opportunist.

Particularly pronounced is the problem of high increase in personal incomes in many organizations which have for years been operating at a loss, as well as in organizations whose income is largely the result of exceptionally favorable natural, market and other conditions. All this shows that the work on the elaboration and application of the principles of distribution according to work is lagging far behind. Leveling-down has taken roots in many work collectives, especially in nonproduction activities and in work communities in associated labor. Such behavior, which does not make possible better rewards for productive and creative work and is most often justified by false solidarity, is giving rise to idlers, sloppiness, careerism and struggle for offices by those not qualified for them and it poisons relations between people.

We must sweep from our economic policy and instruments of the economic system and decisionmaking at various levels everything that is not realistic, that is based on the achieved income and results of work, everything subjectivist and voluntarist and everything that has created the illusion that we can live above our real material possibilities.

We must uncompromisingly suppress the consumer mentality, petty bourgeois psychology, squandering of social resources and their privatization. It is vital to close all the channels, especially in crediting and monetary policy, which make it possible to spend without any real cover and in excess of the agreed limits.

We must wage a constant struggle, in all organizations of associated labor and work communities and sociopolitical communities, to ensure that everybody's social and material position and prospects are based on the results of work. In this direction it is necessary to be far more resolute in implementing the orientation toward higher rewards for production and creative work, which also include a redistribution of funds for personal incomes.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium has separately discussed the current developments in crediting and monetary policy. It noted that this sphere is a concentration of major social and economic problems. The work on the preparation and realization on the constitutional foundations of the long-term program of transformation of relations in the crediting and monetary sphere in keeping with the policy of economic stabilization must be speeded up and involve all the responsible social and political factors in the federation, and republics and the provinces.

Contrary to our orientation, the position of workers in basic and other organizations of associated labor in the economy is unsatisfactory with regard to the control of income and surplus value and with regard to decisionmaking on the entire social reproduction. Though economic and other measures have been adopted in this direction this year, the material position of the producers has grown weaker. Owing to reduced material possibilities, all that is left to the economy to rely on in its development, with the exception of a part of its accumulation, is to resort to loans, which have assumed large proportions. The pressure causing the flow of income out of the economy continues to be strong. I should like to add that in the conditions of exacerbated economic problems we have gone a long way in the administrative manner of regulating economic trends.

The revision and necessary changes in the medium-term development plans are, on the whole, lagging. We must discuss this matter, because it is of exceptional importance for our total future socio-economic development and the realization of the policy of economic stabilization. I stress this because there has been no success in our discussions so far in coordinating interests and achieving accord on the basic trends of our future joint development.

Throughout this year we have faced serious problems in keeping the population supplied with a number of vital food products and mass consumption goods, even when this did not depend on imported products. This is to a great extent the result of the inefficiency of and insufficient responsibility in numerous organizations of associated labor and the appropriate municipal and town organs. This is a sphere in which the insufficient level of organization of the trade network, its lack of ties with production organizations and the way it insulated itself against the influence of organized consumers are all manifesting themselves. It is also a fact that the production of certain basic products, including food products (for instance meat), has for years been neglected and undervalued, which has caused deep disruptions on the market and created shortages. The League of Communists must strive most resolutely to ensure that these questions are monitored on a daily basis and that they are efficiently dealt with within the framework of our real possibilities and stabilization goals, with the full cooperation of all the responsible organs and social factors.

In dealing with the problem of unemployment we have achieved significant results both with regard to the entire postwar policy and this year. However, unemployment is one of the gravest economic and social problems. The situation is at its worst in the economically underdeveloped republics and in particular in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

This issue was thoroughly discussed at the recently-held Ninth Congress of the Yugoslav Trade Union Confederations and the 11th Congress of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia, whose attitudes should be implemented consistently. Our task is to be much more energetic in creating the conditions for more rapid employment, especially in the base of the young skilled cadres. Every action aimed at realizing specific programs in this direction should be supported, because this is a significant factor for consolidation of the productive and creative basis of work, fuller realization of the long-term program of stabilization, and for resolving one of the most important economic and social problems.

Antistabilization behavior is powerfully manifesting itself in the sphere of prices. Their rate of increase is twice as high as planned. It is true that the rate at which prices are increasing this year is lower by one fourth than that in 1981, but this was largely achieved by means of administrative measures and not by improving economic activity. Even after being "frozen," prices continue to rise. Self-managing agreements and accords are violated and virtually no one is held responsible. It is obvious that we have not yet overcome the tendency to acquire the income of the basic organizations of associated labor not through good work and the proper economic use of social resources but by raising prices without justification, thus concealing poor work and erroneous business and development decisions. Problems of disparity between the prices for products and services in individual groups and branches have also been aggravated which leads to differences between the material position of various parts of the working class independently of the results of work. The workers' influence on the adoption and realization of the policy of prices is extremely unsatisfactory. The major problem here is that even today we have no agreed indispensable solution for the next year in this sphere.

A significant social action aimed at the consistent realization of legality has been initiated. This activity includes self-management organs and workers' control organs, inspection services, the social accountancy service, the courts, the prosecution organs and others. Such an organized and broad social action is already producing certain results. There is increased activity aimed at curbing and eliminating instances of usurpation and appropriation of social property. There is a resolute attempt to curb instances of abuses of rights and authority, bribery, corruption, violation of laws, regulations and agreements and violations of the norms of a socialist self-management society. We must continue to carry out this action resolutely.

As I have said, we have achieved certain results in the realization of the conclusions of the third LCY Central Committee session. It can be said that the stabilization course has increased in our attitudes, regardless of the fact that there are still many weaknesses and omissions. With even better organized activity by the League of Communists we shall succeed in increasing the general state of mobilization of all organized forces and we shall orient them toward the realization of the economic stabilization policy. Therefore it is important that we note in good time our weak points in ideopolitical activity and eliminate them effectively.

However, at this time, when we are considering everything that we have done, we must not lose sight of the fact that our economic situation remains serious. I repeat that we have not succeeded in achieving a fundamental change in unstable economic trades. Naturally, we did not expect this, nor do we hold the illusion that it is possible to do this quickly. I draw your attention to this so that we can assess responsibly what we need to do directly next year and the essential prerequisites from which we will proceed in forming economic policy for 1983. We must assess soberly whether what we have done up to now is a short-term policy and whether — in taking short-term temporary measures often -- we have taken account of the complexity of problems and the long-term nature of our orientation in favor of stabilization. For we must not forget that time will soon tell, regardless of what we want or say subjectively!

We really must discuss these questions rationally and responsibly, not in order to assess all the specific solutions already being proposed or decided on, but to achieve a global insight which will really convince us of the relations and situation upon which we are entering next year and the few years after that.

It would be very significant to direct our discussion toward these essential questions. Thus I will try to sketch out some possible elements or prerequisites with the intention of stimulating discussion in this direction.

The complex economic situation dictates the setting of such aims and tasks and such resources, methods and means of economic policy as will oblige us and orient us toward considerably greater resolve and action in overcoming economic disturbances, along the lines of consolidating and realizing socialist self-management socioeconomic relations. The basic unfavorable characteristics of our current economic situation lie in the following: the stagnation of production and a fall in the growth rate with all the negative consequences, especially as regards the possibilities for exports. We are slow in changing the unfavorable structure of production, especially as regards increasing the participation of raw materials, reproduction materials, energy, food, and exports. There are characteristic unfavorable tendencies in supplying the economy and the population. We are not succeeding in controlling inflation, which continues to be very high. The vital functions of the market have been distrubed. Through force of circumstances we have introduced some methods of supply which are absolutely at variance with the system of market relations (coupons, lists, linked trade and so forth), cause the violation of the unified Yugoslav market and hold back our openness toward the world market. Prices have been frozen, but the desired relations and level of their movement have still not been achieved.

Ideas and illusions of being able to solve these problems by means of administrative measures are strengthening, although perhaps this is done unconsciously. We are still not manifesting sufficient capability and resolve to introduce economic criteria in the setting of prices and market elements in supply and we are still not accepting the logic of economic supply. The most complex problem in this situation are the debts to other countries and the method of paying them off. Internal liquidity is deteriorating. We have not been sufficiently successful in bringing consumption into realistic material limits. Such disturbances have had a direct effect on weakening the position of associated labor in disposing of income and surplus of labor. All this has a negative effect in the sphere of social relations and policy.

In the discussions which have taken place in the League of Communists and SFRY Assembly, as well as elsewhere, the essential question of whether we are required organizationally and in action and ideologically prepared to direct economic trends successfully on self-management bases arises. I believe that here there is no dilemma and that we are able -- even with such internal economic trends and very unfavorable circumstances imposed, as well as the strong influence of the external factor -- to strengthen and affirm self-management development and prove that precisely the system of socialist self-management is our great comparative advantage and the only way of emerging from these difficulties. The 12th LCY Congress and the conclusions of the third session set us particular obligations in this sense.

I am stressing this with the intention of -- in addition to our principled orientations -- trying to relate as specifically as possible to the concept of development policy for next year, realistically working out the real situation and setting the right direction of social and economic processes. Therefore on this occasion we must return more carefully and responsibly to the course of the discussions on economic policy for 1983. In the LCY Central Committee Presidium we have discussed these questions several times. We have also discussed them with the SFRY Presidency.

A debate on kev issues is being carried out in the SFRY Assembly, the Federal Executive Council, the SAWPY, the Trade Union Confederation, the Youth congresses and in other self-management and political structures in society. In all the discussions there is a justified attempt to deepen the course of self-management and to ensure that we demonstrate far greater resolve, persistence and firmness in this. So I believe that we must strengthen and support this orientation constantly. On this we must draw much closer to a specific self-management ordering of relations in social reproduction and society as a whole on the basis of principled orientations.

In all environments, the League of Communists must oppose those orientations which see the way to overcoming economic difficulties in avoiding the mechanism of the system, and in the centralized adoption of decisions on the basis of collusion between decentralized statism and technocratism. Lasting conditions for overcoming economic instability can only be created through the rapid development of self-management socioeconomic resources within and between subjects of economic activity on the unified Yugoslav market. It is not possible to achieve optimum results in a single economic sphere on the bases of autarkic development and the desire to gain income through isolation within local and regional boundaries, which threatens the unity of the Yugoslav market.

One of the prerequisites from which we proceed in defining the stabilization policy and economic policy for next year is the particularly pronounced need for reliance on one's own efforts. When we use this concept we are not discovering anything new, for in all of our development we have always proceeded from this. Therefore I have no intention of explaining this aspect more widely. At this time there are certain new circumstances, and I am thinking in particular of the effect of the external factor, which require the greatest possible mobilization of all potentials at our disposal, to ensure a change in the direction of stabilization and to create on this basis conditions for increased and more equitable involvement in the international division of labor, and so for the regular paying of debts to other countries.

In this context our attitude toward tasks in production and exports is of special significance. The revival of industrial production in order to increase exports assumes significant changes in the structure and quality of economic activity, a higher degree of self-management organization and linking on the bases of income, as well as more ambitious and realistic export plans, suitable stimulative measures and the reorienting of investments towards this sphere. In this way, as well as achieving the basic aims of development, we shall also ensure increased foreign currency income and create conditions for early payments of foreign debts. Sometimes an artificial dilemma is posed: whether to give priority to production or paying off debts. There can be no dilemma; we need a realistic and rational approach and more attractive practical policy which will enable us to create conditions for the normal course of production and for regularity in paying off debts to other countries.

Reliance on one's own efforts in production development and in the envisaged expansion of exports requires the strengthening of economic criteria in economic activity, and more effective functioning of the unified Yugoslav market. We need to create much more quickly the necessary systemic conditions and stimuli in order to use economics to direct and force organizations of associated labor to establish more long-term links on the basis of acquiring joint income, in contrast to the logic of profit relations. The consistent realization of the constitutional role of the republics and autonomous province is of special significance, as is their responsibility for ensuring conditions for the functioning of the unified Yugoslav market in the context of their rights and responsiblities for their own and the joint socioeconomic development. Such processes will be decisive in expediting the pooling of labor and resources, and will overcome centralist-statist and separatist tendencies in economic and general social development. Without this it is not possible to carry out an effective restructuring of production for export by coordinating relations along the lines of energy and raw materials, and food and processing.

It is clear that the current structure of production and the many existing links between organizations of associated labor on the market, in which organs of sociopolitical communities also take part, will not be able to carry out the stabilization policy successfully, especially the expansion of exports, nor will the unified Yugoslav market be strengthened.

Apart from the series of tasks which lie before us in this sphere, the functioning of the system of prices is of special significance. We must eliminate subjectivism and voluntarism quickly in primary distribution and permit associated labor to decide on the ordering of relations in the market more directly, on the basis of constitutional definitions. On this issue, we must enter deeper into an assessment of real relations and processes in the market in our social conditions, and we must establish the real causes of the situation and find real ways for total involvement along the lines of the pooling of labor and resources and the development of the unified Yugoslav market. In this way we will avoid many unnecessary confrontations and errors which sometimes hold up the development of the market unconsciously. For example, we will avoid errors on the basis of which any breaking of links between organizations of associated labor on the market is treated as an attempt at breaking up the market, in conditions when, as a significant factor of the strategy of development, we are proclaiming the self-management pooling of labor and resources and the restructuring of production to increase imports. [sentence as received] We will also avoid lightly turning problems of relations between organizations of associated labor from different republics and provinces into an interrepublican, and sometimes intranational problem. Superficial attitudes and hasty reactions create confusion among people in associated labor and more widely, and we also frighten ourselves too much by this.

Significant tasks next year relate to strengthening the process of pooling labor and resources and of income-based linking between organizations of associated labor from economically insufficiently developed republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and organizations of associated labor from the developed republics and Vojvodina. Many activities in this sphere are in progress and some are already being carried out. The League of Communists must support such activities resolutely, constantly strengthening those processess of income-based linking, which is an essential cohesive factor in our socialist community and a condition for the more rapid material development of the country as a whole. Everything possible must be done to ensure that the planned measures and actions aimed at the more rapid development of the economically insufficiently developed republics and the most rapid possible development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo are carried out consistently.

When we define our attitude to the basic tenets of the policy for 1983 we need to refer to the whole of the stabilization program. We need to judge which stage this important work has reached, to what extent this essential condition has been ensured and to what extent the policy for next year relies on this program.

In connection with this, two facts are significant. One refers to the need to work out finally a complete long-term stabilization program, and intensive work is in progress because expectations are justifiably great. The second fact refers to making this program operational. It is known that work on this is also in progress. However, I would like to draw your attention to the concept of the policy for next year -- if the intention is to ensure the stabilization course and we must ensure this above all -- which is most directly linked with the question of to what degree and in what important spheres the premises of the program of the long-term stabilization policy have been implemented; and to what extent this policy has so far been turned into legislation, measures and instruments of economic policy including those which are being proposed. I have no intention of analyzing this in greater detail now. I think that it is enough to note that there are considerable delays and that it is most important to ensure that along with greater cooperation by scientific institutions the most important solutions on which the implementation of the economic policy next year depends be adopted on time.

In the same vein, I also think that at our session today we should give full backing to the commission for the work it has done and pay tribute to it for that which it has achieved in helping to look for solutions to our accute problems and in making a contribution to finding solutions to further material and self-managing development.

Social policy has an exceptional significance for the implementation of the economic stabilization policy in 1983, but also for a longer period. It must, among other things, take into consideration the two following aspects: The first is the need to coordinate all elements of **this** policy with the real material possibilities of the economy and of society, and the other is that in all spheres of the standard of living the point of departure must be the principle of distribution according to work, along with the necessary solidarity and reciprocity.

The goal of our policy in this sphere should not be restrictive, nor should it be independent of the implementation of the goals of the economic policy with which it must represent a unified whole. The fall in the standard of living could be alleviated through better work and commitment. Certain changes in the structure of personal consumption and standard of living will be necessary. In this context there must be a differentiated approach and the protection of the standard of socially threatened categories of the population should be borne in mind. It is therefore important to examine beforehand, at least orientationally, in what position individual sections of the working class and of our society will find themselves and then, on this basis, prevent the drop in the standard of living being proportionally reflected on all the working people. This should depend in the first place on who achieves results in the increase in income and productivity of labor and what kind of results. It is realistic to assume that in view of the existing volume and structure of consumption, and in particular the unsatisfactory position of production work and of creative work, personal incomes of workers in direct production will grow considerably more quickly, in keeping with the increase in the income resulting from increased production and exports and that creative work as a whole will be valued more highly.

The question which arises is in what kind of material position will a section of the working class and working people in organizations of associated labor which do not export and whose production will not develop further find themselves in view of the need to reduce domestic demand to normal frameworks and to direct investments and other forms of support for production toward exports. They have significant tasks in the development, to contribute, through an increase in labor productivity and through the consolidation of high quality factors of economic activity, to the growth in production as a whole and to the alleviation of the drop in the standard of living. It will be normal to expect that the burden of the drop in the standard will be felt to a greater extent by the working people in work communities and in activities outside the sphere of material production.

The role and responsibility of the LCY in implementing the 1983 stabilization policy are great. In this connection one should, among other things, bear in mind the following: The LCY has up till now successfully mobilized the working class, working people and citizens in implementing the economic stabilization policy. However, in some spheres of economic life not even the necessary results have been achieved. To be sure, to a considerable extent this is because the ideopolitical, organizational and entire action capability of the League of Communists is not up to standard. We must pay particular attention to this.

In order for the League of Communists role to be successfully implemented it is necessary that the specific socioeconomic relations and all mechanisms of the system point the working class, working people and citizens in the same direction, toward implementation of the economic stabilization policy as their vital interests. So far, we have not succedded in some cases. It has happened that despite League of Communist action in the right direction, moral, economic and other criteria contrary to the social character of the resources and income have been manifested.

This has been reflected in particular in the sphere of investments, the market and prices, indebtedness abroad, imports, exports, personal consumption, credit-monetary policy, and so forth.

This must be taken into account when considering the tasks of the League of Communists in 1983 in view of the fact that stabilization policy presupposes major and complex actions in economic organizations and in the whole of society. We must do all we can to enable the conditions for full mobilization of the working class, working people and citizens or, in other words, for better utilization of the comparative advantages of the self-managing system to be created on an even broader scale by the further development of self-managing socioeconomic relations. This means that the League of Communists can only realize its vanguard role if it is united with regard to its fundamental orientations and in the revolutionary, creative struggle in the masses and with the masses in the realisation of their vital interests. At the same time, that is the best reply to the question on what social forces the League of Communists relies in its sociopolitical activity and in what way it makes sure that it does not make decisions on behalf of self-managers and bypassing self-managing institutions, nor is it pushed onto the sidelines. However indispensable it is to strengthen the role and responsibility of the League of Communists in the realization of the policy of economic stabilization, equally important is the manner in which this is achieved. It is necessary to prevent a situation where the organs of the League of Communists, in the name of the complexity of the situation, take everything in their own hands -- and pressures and tendencies to do so do exist in practice. By means of their activity they should make a vital contribution to the affirmation of the work of the institution of the system of selfmanagement.

I found it necessary to point out the broader aspect of the engagement and activity of the League of Communists in the realization of the policy of economic stabilization, because we must always bear in mind the complexity of the task and the prospect of a way out of this situation. However, in addition I should like to stress our specific task concerning the policy of economic stabilization for 1983. The LCY Central Committee Presidium has already discussed the development problems for next year. It was also adopted definite attitudes. On this occasion it should be said that the defined economic and development policy for 1983 deserves full support, and this particularly applies to its fundamental goals. It is obvious that in this respect there are still a number of unsolved questions, to which, we are convinced, replies will be found in the assembly debate before the adoption of the resolution. By means of our united ideopolitical orientations and principled attitude to these major questions we must make our influence felt and make a contribution to the effort to enable the delegate assembly to arrive by the end of the year at the best solutions for the realization of economic policy in 1983. I believe that with regard to these questions we in the League of Communists, especially in the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium and in the central and provincial committees, must bear our part of the responsibility for ensuring that the determination of the appropriate policy and its consistent implementation will be ensured through the activity of Communists in the organizations and institutions of the system. We must be aware that failure to adopt the resolution and all the measures necessary for its implementation on time would create major political problems.

The situation is such that more than ever before we should strive to strengthen the awareness in society, in the members and organizations of the League of Communists and especially in the leaderships of the League of Communists of the fact that solutions which will contribute to the development of self-managing togetherness in Yugoslavia must be found and adhered to. I am convinced that this is an exceptional, important demand and prerequisite if we are to find a way out of the situation in which we often find ourselves because of the objectively different interests and attitudes. Failing to take this sufficiently into account, we dig ourselves in to "defend" only our partial interests and, normally, begin to be preoccupied with ourselves alone.

We must promote the awareness of the fact that no partial interest, however justified it may be, can be achieved if the solution does not follow the line of the consolidation of self-managing togetherness in Yugoslavia. We must resolutely overcome the situation where in discussing individual specific questions of our development we are divided into republics and provinces. With all due respect to the objectively different interests and specificities, it is indispensable to free ourselves more energetically from the remnants of the statist way of thinking in our behaviour when we are searching for specific solutions in our socieoeconomic community.

The major tasks which await us cannot be implemented without successful mobilization of the total social potential, which allocates a special role to the scientific specialists and all creative cadres in the realization of the policy of economic stabilization and the development of the system of socialist self-management.

I propose that the conclusion adopted at this session should have a working character, that they should proceed from the 12th LCY Congress and the exceptional topicality of the conclusions adopted by the third LCY Central Committee session and expand and give a specific form to the programming of the work done to further encourage and mobilize all the factors of society for the speedier development of the system of socialist self-managing relations. In doing so stress should also be placed on the operational implementation of the long-term program of economic stabilization, which is of first-rate importance at this moment. These are the essential prerequisites if we are to be successful in surmounting the present difficulties and tracing the road for our stable and dynamic socioeconomic devlopment based on self-management. Use should be made of the positive experience so far gained in the work of the basic organizations, municipal, central and provincial committees of the League of Communists and also members of this Central Committee, but use should also be made of the readiness and activity of all the working people and subjective forces in the sense of intensifying social action in all the environments in the interest of the most consistent realization of the policy of economic stabilization and development of self-management. It is indispensable that the members of the leaderships of the League of Communists should be involved as directly as possible in the activity of the party's grass roots. This particularly applies to the members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Discussions Resume 25 Dec

LD252212 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0833 GMT 25 Dec 82

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 25 Dec (TANJUG) -- The members of the LCY Central Committee today continued their work. After yesterday's introductory report submitted by Nikola Stojanovic, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the aim of the highest party forum is to assess the extent to which the conclusions of the previous session on the League of Communists' tasks in implementing the policy of economic stabilization have been carried out. It is expected that operative working conclusions will be adopted, on the basis of today's discussion, which will still more concretely determine further directions of the League of Communists' activity.

The first participant in the discussion, Milutin Baltic, considers that in spite of proclaimed policy the practice of investments continues, regardless of the decisions of the associated labor. The criteria for construction of projects continue to create the possibility of new jobs but not as regards productivity, the quality of economic operations and the ability of these collectives to enter the international division of labor. This practice, he observed, leads to territorial isolation and to the isolation of the economy within narrow or wide areas. Everyone wishes to make his ambitions a priority and makes every effort to gather banking resources in the country as well as any loan that he can get abroad.

The aim of self-managing associations, he pointed out, is not to enable stronger enterprises to swallow weaker ones but for all partners to find joint interests. However, it is not rare that pressure is exerted on those who work well to accept those who make losses. This socialization of debts causes income to flow from those who work well to those who do not work as they should. The sociopolitical groupings are often behind the enterprises which are in a critical situation. Caring for workers and their personal income is understandable, but this should not be the only concern of responsible subjects, Milutin Baltic said.

The working class accepts the proclaimed policy of relying on our own forces and the need to make sacrifices readily and resolutely, as always. However, some strata outside associated labor continue to give only verbal support to this policy, Bogoljub Nedeljkovic observed.

The discrepancy between what has been proclaimed and what has been implemented is also more than obvious in this congress year. For instance, we are all against noneconomic investments, yet in the first 9 months of this year increased by 22 percent as compared with the same period last year. The same applies to general and joint expenditure and to the prices which after the adoption of the decision to freeze them increased by 6 percent.

Bogoljub Nedeljkovic especially pointed out certain responsible subjects in society which do not respect their own decisions and against which there are no sanctions. It is for this behavior to change, and for this the Central Committee is especially responsible.

We talk about billionaires, but we are doing nothing to reveal who these people are and how they acquired such wealth. Some have assessed that the trade union action "You have a house, so return your apartment," has also lowered the importance of our congress because, allegedly, we dealt with peripheral problems. These individuals forget that this action was the result of the working class initiative. This action, as many others, is collapsing because it does not suit those who would thus be personally affected, Nedeljkovic said.

Hakija Pozderac considered that this session "has not created the atmosphere" for a discussion on the implementation of the conclusions of the third Central Committee session and therefore proposed that the LCY Central Committee Presidium should be asked to answer "why the conclusions are not being implemented," or that the presidents of the central and provincial committees should report on this at the next LCY Central Committee session.

After the explanation given by Nikola Stojanovic, which was also supported by Kiro Hadzi Vasilev, that today more than ever it is necessary to discuss how we carried out the adopted decisions (as well as that the introductory report and material for this session represented a good and "strong word" for this discussion), it was decided not to put off this question.

Speaking about the economic situation, Hamdija Pozderac especially dealt with our great independence on imported raw and other materials, emphasizing that the documents for next year are not sufficiently based on domestic resources. Linking the development based on foreign resources with autarky, Pozderac emphasized that the Yugoslav market's problems of isolation should not be sought in the working class and the associated labor but in the political and economic structures. It is we and not the market who are guilty of isolation, because the market knows no frontiers, while there are phenomena of limiting trade within municipal borders, Pozderac said.

Dusan Ckrebic said that the conclusions of the third LCY Central Committee plenum encouraged the already lively political activity in Serbia.

Dealing with economic difficulties which "activated" new obligations for the League of Communists also contributed to this. However, Ckrebic said, the discrepancy between economic trends and economic policy should have stirred the League of Communists to act energetically much earlier, instead of being itself on the wave of the spending euphoria. All this can be a good lesson for the exceptionally complex 1983 when action should be taken from the first day without waiting for more difficulties.

Ckrebic also spoke about the need to value production work better, about the quality of production and better exploitation of capacities and dealt especially with the problem of supply which, in his words, has become a serious political problem. Citizens want justice and order and the municipal and responsible officials can no longer resist coupons. Citizens think that we supply ourselves separately, Ckrebic added, emphasizing that through better organization of the market, more order can be introduced in the supply of certain articles which are in short supply.

Verbalism and opportunism in the LCY ranks have contributed to increased discrepancy between what is being proclaimed and what is being implemented, Milan Dzajkovski pointed out. According to him, this is especially reflected in the failure to implement jointly proclaimed commitments about the unity of the Yugoslav market, which is, as he assessed, the vital problem of today. This is, according to him, mainly due to the existing foreign exchange law which has split up the Yugoslav market and associated labor. The present disunity in coordinating changes and addenda to this law shows that partial interests have not been overcome, Dzajkovski noted. Although the third LCY Central Committee session adopted the united stance that this law should be amended, he said, different opinions are now being heard in the SFRY Assembly. We must not permit coordination to turn into a compromise of republican and provincial interest. At present the credit-monetary policy must be more flexible and serve the strategic directions of development. The positions achieved by those "who found a better way out" cannot be emphasized in the planning of development policy because by so doing, he said, we are bringing into question the country's common interests. Dzajkovski urged the lifting of the myth surrounding unitarianism and centralism which, as he said, is being used to describe everything which is opposed to republican and provincial isolation.

Resistance to the implementation of the conclusions of the third LCY Central Committee session comes from those who have privileges, Alenko Rubesa emphasized. He added that the burden of economic stabilization must be distributed more evenly. In this way we will succeed in destroying the isolation of certain areas which wish to retain for themselves everything they have succeeded in achieving with the help of society.

Milorad Babic, from Boris Kidric ironworks in Niksic, spoke about the situation in the country's ferrous metallurgical industry which is, in his view, very difficult. This key branch of the economy still does not have a clearly defined plan of development and finds itself in the position of being dependent on imported material and raw materials. It is unable to implement its stabilization programs and therefore needs society's help.

The conclusions of the third LCY Central Committee session are fully supported in practice and are already producing the first positive results, Ilija Vakic emphasized. The efforts are not yet sufficient, but it is essential that a turning point is reached in the consciousness of the people who daily show their willingness to exert the greatest efforts. Intensive activity is also underway in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, whose economy, which is not so developed, is especially badly affected by the sharply exacerbated conditions. An open struggle has begun against poor work, irresponsibility, lack of dedication and all other deformations. Identification of specific shortcomings and their bearers has also been undertaken at all levels.

The striving by Communists also resulted in increased industrial production in November, as well as complete and timely completion of the sowing plan. These results, Vakic said, are certainly encouraging, but it is clear that for the next few years the Kosovo economy will have to incorporate additional resources from the wider community. In line with this, he proposed that the commitment concerning the need for the fastest possible development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is also emphasized in the conclusions of today's session.

Milan Pavic emphasized that there are feasible efforts to solve problems by relying on our own forces. In many working collectives, the imported raw materials and spare parts are being to a large extent replaced by domestic ones, which shows the creative power of our working people. Pavic urged that the League of Communists should strive for faster and more resolute linking of the economy throughout the country, as well as for strengthening responsibility and discipline at all levels. The workers have already confirmed their readiness to persist in the struggle for stabilization, Pavic emphasized. He added that often work is being done on Saturdays, Sundays and during holidays, while working time is not measured in production for export.

However, there is a lack of timely measures of economic policy, due to which the work organizations are unable to plan realistically. Many of the measures are also adopted by emergency procedure and there is no time for consultations or for any influence of the associated labor on the taking of decisions. According to Pavic, this is silent statism in the system which leads to ever lower efficiency of its institutions and to increasing power of the executive organs.

The working people and economic subjects would undoubtedly have greater security and clearer perspectives in the determination of economic policy next year had the Commission for Stabilization completed its work and had the changes and addenda to the medium-term plan been published, Sergej Kraigher said. However, even the stances adopted so far and the tasks determined offer sufficient basis for this. They require above all a resolute turnabout in the forthcoming year in keeping with the long-term program of economic stabilization and an end to the practice which has brought about the present situation. Each of the submitted reports in the commission points out a certain complex task of this "transition." Some reasons for the present situation can also be found in certain laws appertaining to the system, including the foreign exchange law. Some formulations given by the Federal Executive Council concerning the proposed changes of this law, however, had to renew the discussion on it. The situation now is that the tasks we will face next year must be determined on the basis of a compromise proposal. In direct connection with this, according to Kraigher, is the task of increased exports to markets with convertible foreign exchange. If the envisaged increase of 20 percent in exports is considered in relation to the envisaged rates of growth of industrial production and productivity, this increase may seem impossible. However, if this task is considered in connection with the envisaged task of restructuring the economy and its inclusion in the world economy on this basis, then the situation is different. This is why, he said, large exporters are justified in their demands for determining a better position for them, as well as for a better position of those who cannot export under present conditions. There are also reserves for increased exports in agriculture. All these tasks, Kraigher said in conclusion, must be finally and ideologically clarified within the League of Communists and all questions which present a political problem must be separated from those disagreements which do not have such weight, but which are quickly "politicized."

Ivo Perisin first sounced a warning about the consequences of the various approaches to some issues concerning the political and economic system. Many topics, he said, are absolutized. There is not enough understanding and limits and barriers are being created which have led to the economic system not being integrated.

Anton Vratusa welcomed the Central Committee's practice of assessing the implementation of its own conclusions and he noted that this is the best way to overcome types of behavior which are contrary to self-managing devleopment, and of consolidating responsibility, both personal and collective. He believes that the League of Communists must pay far greater attention to the functioning of the political system -- that is, to the work of delegate assemblies. These are the places at which, in his words, the relationship between the self-managing and the state attitude can best be grasped. We have again seen that our delegate assemblies have the least time for important social issues. Such documents are, as a rule, adopted at the last moment.

Dobrivoje Vidic spoke of the observation by the working group of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, which had talks with Communists employed by the National Bank of Yugoslavia. He noted that the entire sphere of decisionmaking and of responsibility at the National Bank of Yugoslavia, and in particular of the Council of Governors, should be put into a far better position, both normatively and operationally, so that the constitutional and legislative functions of the National Bank of Yugoslavia and of the national banks of the republics and autonomous provinces can be carried out thoroughly and efficiently.

Attempts made recently to reduce consumption to the frameworks of real income, to establish a harmony in goods-money relations and to distribute evenly the burden of stabilization to all sections of society have not yielded the expected results, Dusan Dragosavac said.

The public is raising the issue of responsibility for the weaknesses and omissions made. Accountability, both collective and individual, is demanded. In many cases these are justified and well-intentioned criticisms, but various forces are trying to put the entire blame on the League of Communists while the objective international situation in which our country has found itself is very often overlooked.

Our responsibility for formulating and pursuing economic policy is great, Dragosavac said, and he listed examples of failed investments. He observed that measures propose for 1983 are still not consistent and that additional efforts have to be made in order to arrive, as soon as possible, at documents which will make the normal business activity of the economy possible.

Dragosavac believes that not enough attention is paid to the problems of supplying the economy with reproduction material and supplying the population with basic products. It is difficult to explain a situation in which many countries which import tropical fruits and coffee even make a profit on it, while with us this trade does not pay. There will be shortages, but there are possibilities of alleviating them, Dragosavac said and demanded the full accountability of relevant organs for the situation on the market. The haphazardness of restrictions is continuously present and it is conducive to introducing coupons and making lists.

It cannot be expected, Dragosav said, that all these problems will be resolved with the strengthening of legislative activity. This is best confirmed by the decision to freeze prices, a decision being implemented in various ways. All of us talk about the need for the dinar to become the only means of payment in the country, while this orientation is being undermined by the economic policy measures, Dragosavac said. He spoke in conclusion about the strengthening of etatism at all levels.

Nijaz Dizdarevic proposed that the work program of the LCY Central Committee be compiled only after a detailed analysis of the debate at this session, because the trust which the League of Communists enjoys in our society depends on the way further action is carried out. He sounded a particular warning about insufficient work at the grass roots, about the phenomenon of waiting for solutions "from above," even though there are some solutions which must come from above.

These include, for instance, the conditions of economic activity, Disdarevic stressed, and he advocated that political pressure be exerted for the documents for next year to be adopted on time.

The Central Committee also adopted the conclusion of the LCY Central Committee Presidium about the way the 100th anniversary of Karl Marx' death should be observed next year. Within the framework of numerous celebrations which will be organized in our country, the League of Communists will direct its activity in such a way that the observation of this anniversary will be used to illustrate topical problems of socialist practice to enable further penetration of theoretical thought and further development of the socialist revolution in our country. At Mitja Ribicic's proposal the attitude was also adopted that the LCY should participate and cooperate in marking Marx's 100th death anniversary with the rest of the world. The program of activity in our country in connection with this anniversary will be examined in greater detail by the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Conclusions of Session

LD252323 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1714 GMT 25 Dec 82

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Dec (TANJUG) -- At its session held on 24 and 25 December 1982, the LCY Central Committee discussed the implementation of the conclusions of the third session of the LCY Central Committee and the tasks of the League of Communists in implementing the economic policy in 1983.

1. The Central Committee noted that the conclusions of the third session of the LCY Central Committee had been backed by League of Communists organizations, the working class, working people, and citizens. They have contributed to even more resolute direction of the entire social activity for the resolution of crucial economic problems and for implementation of the economic stabilization policy. The consciousness of the League of Communists members, of working people and of all social subjects has strengthened regarding the complex nature of the economic situation. Also strengthened has been their readiness to overcome and resolve, by relying on their own forces, through more efficient self-managing organization and better and greater sense of responsibility, major economic problems and to successfully implement the economic stabilization policy. Initial results in restricting individual forms of consumption and results in the timely repaying of foreign debts have been achieved.

The struggle to implement the conclusions of the third session of the LCY Central Committee has exceptional political and social importance in the present complex social and economic situation. The Central Committee notes that we can successfully resolve major economic problems only with self-management and the full mobility and activity of the League of Communists and all subjective forces and institutions and organizations of the system, along the course of implementing the decisions of the 12th LCY Congress.

2. The Central Committee stresses that the basic direction of the entire social action must be to overcome the grave economic difficulties through greater reliance on our own forces; this is the substance of the 1983 economic policy. This policy demands the full activation and use of material, natural and human potentials; and the involvement of all self-managing subjective social forces, in order to ensure the continuity and the growth in production on qualitative bases, to achieve an organized economy that is included to a greater extent in the international division of labor, and to ensure a significant increase in exports, particularly the convertible currency market, regular payment of debts abroad and the imports needed to increase production and improvement in supplying the population with basic consumer goods.

The policy of greater reliance on our own forces contained in the development resolutions for 1983 must, among other things, ensure that, through a consistent application of the self-management system and through a more resolute adoption and implementation of economic policy measures, conditions are created that will motivate organizations of associated labor regarding income and that will economically force them into joint economic activity, self-management division of labor and development of mutual links in goods reproduction on the basic of acquiring income through participation in joint income and joint revenue for greater production and exports on qualitative bases. What should be resolutely and consistently implemented is the policy of reducing all forms of consumption to realistic and agreed-upon frameworks, along with maximum savings and the rational use of all means of reproduction. This should be the fundamental basis of behavior of all subjects in associated labor and in the entire society.

With the consistent application and complementation of the economic system with the regulations, instruments and measures of the economic policy as well as with economic logic, the unified Yugoslav market should be further strengthened; the intensification of the process of pooling labor and resources, and of the income-based linking up throughout Yugoslav territory should be encouraged; the material position of the organizations of associated labor, especially in the production sphere, should be consolidated; the social character of income and the role of workers in basic organizations of associated labor as the exponents of the rights, responsibilities and obligations in settling production relations and in resolving economic difficulties should be strengthened. This is of exceptional significance for the strengthening of basic self-management production relations and for the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization.

The consistent implementation of this policy imposes the need for the social policy to be coordinated with the aims of economic stabilization at all levels and for accounts to be taken of the protection of the standard of living of the poorest families. Consistency and efficiency will have great bearing on implementing the conclusions of the third session of the LCY Central Committee in supplying the population.

3. The LCY Central Committee, by proceeding from its earlier orientations, stresses again that ensuring the country's foreign liquidity is the foremost economic and political issue, to which the League of Communists must pay priority attention. The League of Communists will be fully committed to the goal of all necessary measures and actions will be taken by organizations of associated labor, banks and all other organizations and organs of sociopolitical communities to ensure production and exports, in order that foreign debts will be regularly paid. In this sphere, as in the sphere of social reproduction as a whole, we must struggle with even greater resolve to implement the workers' constitutional position in basic and other organizations of associated labor.

The Central Committee binds the communists in organs of the federation, republics and provinces, to complete as soon as possible -- by proceeding from the conclusions of the third session and of the long-term program of economic stabilization -- the work on the whole program of ensuring the country's foreign liquidity during the next period. In line with this, such programs should be determined by all social subjects that already have and that will establish credit relations with other countries.

The basic and other organisations of associated labor, banks and other subjects of reproduction which incur debts abroad should bear the full economic and social responsbility for their credit obligations to other countries. They should settle their obligations to foreign creditors from their own and from the joint foreign exchange inflow on the basis of pooling labor and resources and on the basis of income-based relations. In line with this, criteria should be laid down and adopted and forms of solidarity worked out. The practice of and phenomena of socialization and of shifting debts to others should be stopped and prevented.

The Central Committee believes that foreign credits on any basis whatsoever should be used strictly for the purpose intended, above all for even greater backing of production which, with exports, strengthens the country's foreign liquidity, for the timely payment of debts abroad, for the normalization of the domestic market with deficit goods, and for strengthening foreign exchange and reserves.

Full coordination in incurring debts, and the use and timely return of all foreign credits must be ensured in all organs of the federation, of the republics and provinces, and especially in national banks. The use of all credits must be under the full control of the assemblies and other appropriate organs. Full control by the SFRY Assembly must be ensured over all the credits arranged by the Yugoslav National Bank.

4. The Central Committee points out that appropriate organs in the federation, republics and provinces must make maximum efforts to ensure that proceeding from the starting foundations and other documents of the economic stabilization program and in keeping with their rights and responsibilities and with basic orientations pertaining to our system and joint interests, they contribute to the "resolution on the implementation of the social plan of the development of Yugoslavia in the period between 1981 and 1985 and of the long-term program of economic stabilization in 1983" together with basic and accompanying documents, regulations and measures. Social accords and self-management agreements which lay down the conditions for running the economy and which are essential for the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization must be coordinated in time and adopted.

The Central Committee believes that it is of exceptional importance for the implementation of our economic policy next year that within this period of time the SFRY Assembly adopt changes and additions to the law on foreign currency and on credit relations with foreign countries, proceeding consistently from the stands laid down in the documents of the Commission for Economic Stabilization.

The Communists in the organs of the federation, republics and provinces have special responsibility for the coordination of the stands and for the adoption of the economic policy for 1983.

5. The Central Committee stresses that it is of special importance that the Commission for Federal Councils should complete its work on the long-term program of economic stabilization, which, consequent upon its adoption in the SFRY Assembly, which become, for all subjects of our society, the single basis for qualitative changes in the running of the economy and for the efficient solution of economic problems on stabilization foundations in conditions of socialist self-management of socioeconomic relations.

The Central Committee stresses the need for the organs of the federation, of the republics and provinces and for self-management organizations and communities, hand in hand with better involvement of creative forces in our scientific institutions, to speed up the work on the elaboration and the implementation of the solutions pertaining to the long-term program of economic stabilization. This work should be fully built into the programs and development plans, into measures and economic policy instruments, into individual solutions pertaining to our system and into self-management accords and self-management agreements.

6. The Central Committee demands the full ideopolitical and action unity and responsibility of members of the LCY and of its leadership because this is the condition for the unity of all subjective socialist forces and for the united and responsible activity of organs of the republics, provinces and of the federation and of all self-managing organs and organizations for the consistent implementation of the policy of economic stabilization and the resolving of pressing problems in reproduction and for ensuring foreign liquidity with reliance on our own forces.

Communists and League of Communists organizations and leaderships in every organization of associated labor, in every self-managing organization and sociopolitical community must be resolute and united in implementing the attitudes of the 12th congress and of the conclusions of the third LCY Central Committee session. With the struggle, activity and initiative the Communists must set an example in implementing the economic stabilization policy and in developing self-managing relations, operate in the mobilizing sense in labor associated on the basis of self-management and, together with the working class and other socialist subjective forces, involve themselves to the maximum in the resolution of the vital problems of the working people and citizens on the foundations of self-management and in the implementation of the stabilization processes in the trends of reproduction.

7. The Central Committee emphasizes the task of all its members, organizations and organs of the League of Communists to pay particular attention to the ideopolitical training and development of intraparty life, along with organized efforts to realize the economic stabilization policy on foundations of self-management, because this is a condition for achieving the necessary ideolpolitical and action unity in the entire League of Communists in implementing the decisions of the 25th congress and the conclusions of the third and fourth LCY Central Committee sessions.

The Central Committee will continue to direct actively the entire social activity toward implementing the economic stabilization policy and developing socialist self-managment socioeconomic relations. The Presidium will also continue to monitor and initiate the implementation of the conclusions of the third LCY Central Committee session and will keep the Central Committee informed of this.

EXECUTIVE COUNCILS DISCUSS ECONOMIC SITUATION

LD232214 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1657 GMT 22 Dec 82

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Dec (TANJUG) -- At a meeting between Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, and presidents of the executive councils of the republics and provinces, also attended by vice presidents of the Federal Executive Council and a number of council members, the topical economic situation was discussed as well as measures and activities aimed at the implementation of economic policy in 1983, especially in the first half of the year. As reported by the Federal Secretariat for Information, it was noted that economic trends remain unfavorable and that this will be manifested in a more severe form at the beginning of next year. Therefore, it is essential that organizations of associated labor, republics and provinces, and the federation, adopt all regulations in good time and take measures in order to put an end to negative tendencies in economic activity and to enable organizations of associated labor to adapt their business activity and development as quickly as possible to the given possibilities of the country and the policy of the long-term economic stabilization program.

Emphasis was laid on the fact that our country has the social and natural resources, capacities and cadres needed to be able to overcome the current difficulties through the involvement of all subjects in society, relying primarily on our own efforts. In this sense, support was offered for proposed measures and activities by the Federal Executive Council and republics and provinces aimed at monitoring the realization of the resolution on socioeconomic development in 1983, and emphasis was laid on the fact that an orderly fulfillment of obligations to other countries and an increase in economic activity, above all in exports, must take priority in economic policy. It was assessed that these aims can be achieved primarily through a considerable increase in exports, and these should go to the convertible currency market, through linking and association between associated labor on the unified Yugoslav market.

Federal Executive Council

LD231444 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1155 GMT 23 Dec 82

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Dec (TANJUG) -- At its session today, presided over by Milka Planinc, the Federal Executive Council discussed the remarks and (?proposals) made by republics and provinces on the draft resolution concerning Yugoslavia's socioeconomic development for (?next) year and established its own viewpoints. Discussions centered on the remarks and proposals made by republics and provinces on the draft changes and supplements to the law on foreign currency, business activity and credit relations with other countries. According to the report by the Federal Secretariat for Information, the council held to its earlier view that the proposed solutions and items that establish themethod and adoption of unified criteria on distributing foreign currency should be maintained.

Budgetary Conflict

LD231926 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1329 GMT 23 Dec 82

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Dec (TANJUG) -- The proposed budget of the federation for 1983 did not receive the consent of the delegates at today's session of the committee for finance of the SFRY Assembly's Chamber of the Republics and Provinces. Egon Padovan, assistant federal secretary for finance, informed the members of this working body that the Federal Executive Council had not adopted any attitudes on the comments and proposals made to the budget by the republics and provinces. The differences are so considerable that for the time being one cannot see in which way compromise solutions could be found. Thus, both the Federal Executive Council and the republics and provinces have retained their positions, refusing to move even an inch. According to Egon Padovan, the present proposed budget -- amounting to 246 billion dinars -- is as much as 40 billion less than what it would have been were all the legal rights of the users of the federal coffers fulfilled. However, Marjan Markovic, delegate from Slovenia, said that his republic could not accept even this variant because it was not in line with their orientation to spend less than the earned income.

Radoljub Stanic, delegate from Serbia, said that one should also deliberate about the possibility of the budget not being coordinated by the end of the year. In that case, in the first quarter of next year, the budget would be divided by twelvths -- every month the users would receive as much funds as they had in the same month this year. This is the worst solution but we must be prepared for it.

What the further fate of the budget will be remains to be seen in the next few days. The assemblies of the republics and provinces have convened a debate on the budget for Monday. Should the committee for finance not coordinate attitudes by then, the prospects of arriving at a new budget by the new year are minimal. Therefore, the delegates of this committee decided to demand that the Federal Executive Council submit to the assembly its view on the comment and proposals of the republics and provinces.

Budget Allocations Proposed

LD242125 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1428 GMT 24 Dec 82

[Text] Belgrade 24 Dec (TANJUG) -- The Federal Executive Council proposed today at the session of the committee for finance of the SFRY Assembly's Chamber of the Republics and Provinces that the contribution by the republics and provinces to the federal budget should be 99.9 billion dinars instead of 113 billion dinars.

This way, the contribution by federal units next year would reach a 24.3 percent budget growth.

The Federal Executive Council made such a proposal on the basis of fresh estimates of the revenue from the sales tax and from customs next year. The sales tax will, according to this new estimate, amount to 103.3 billion dinars instead of 95.2 billion. Customs will yield 37 billion instead of 32 billion. This way, the Federal Executive Council satisfied one of the demands of the republican and provincial assemblies and reduced their contributions by as much as 15 percent. However, according to the Federal Executive Council the entire volume of the budget proposed in the amount of 246.3 billion dinars could not be changed.

Joze Florjancic, federal secretary for finance, said that the Federal Executive Council could not accept the reduction in resources intended for the army: 5.2 percent of the national income in 1984 should be ensured for the Yugoslav People's Army. Resources for the functional expenditure of the army could be restricted just as all other general consumption.

Regarding protection of the disabled and veterans the Federal Executive Council decided, in Joze Florjancio's words, that it should increase at a rate of 13 percent next year.

Regarding the debts owned the federal coffers by the republics and provinces the Federal Executive Council proposed that, following the final accounting for this year, the total deficit of republican and provincial communities be covered. However, for the time being, it cannot be determined from which resources this deficit would be made good. Resources for the insufficiently developed republics and the Province of Kosovo cannot increase more than at the proposed 13 percent, Florjancio said.

Branko Sotra, delegate from Bosnia-Hercegovina, said that his republic would not be able to accept such a budget for next year. Resources for the underdeveloped areas are even 22.4 percent less than the obligation envisaged by the law, and such restrictions are not carried out regarding other beneficiaries of the budget. In addition, the rextriction of the growth of resources for the protection of the disabled and veterans to 13 percent deviates from the standards laid down by the law, he said.

Rajko Simic, delegate from Croatia, stressed that his republic continued to remain by its attitude that the budget for 1983 cannot increase more than the increase in income that is planned at 20.7 percent.

Marjan Markovic, from Slovenia, believed that his also was too much. In his words, his republic will not accept a single budget proposal that envisages an increase over 18 percent. He also stressed that regarding the financing of the army, the only standard that could be accepted is to not restrict resources intended for modernization while all other expenditures in the army should, as early as next year, share the fate of the entire general consumption and increase up to 13 percent at the most.

As a result of the great differences in the attitudes of the republics and provinces on one hand, and of the Federal Executive Council on the other, coordination was suspended and will be resumed on Tuesday following the sessions of the republican and provincial assemblies.

At the session of the committee for finance, the Federal Executive Council also proposed a rebalancing of the budget. The total reduction remains at 2.8 percent but the total resources for the insufficiently developed republics and the Province of Kosovo this year are being reduced by 150 million dinars instead of by 600 million dinars. The delegation from Montenegro has given its consent to this proposed rebalance but the delegations from Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina postponed their final view until Tuesday.

CHAMBERS SCHEDULED TO CONVENE 30 DECEMBER

Federal Chamber

LD222104 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1138 GMT 22 Dec 82

[Excerpt] Belgrade 22 Dec (TANJUG) -- Dr Anton Vratusa, president of the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly, has convened a session of the chamber for 30 December. At its last session this year the Federal Chamber should adopt the federal budget for 1983 and the bill on the implementation of the budget.

Chamber of Republics, Provinces

LD231500 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1230 GMT 23 Dec 82

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 23 Dec (TANJUG) -- Nikola Kmezic, president of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly, has called a session of the chamber for 30 December. At its last session this year the Chamber of Republics and Provinces is due to adopt the resolution on Yugoslavia's social plan for the 1981-1985 period and the long-term economic stabilization program for next year, as well as acts that are adopted together with the resolution. The views of republican and provincial assemblies on these have been discussed at the Yugoslav Assembly over the last few days.

REPUBLIC LC CC'S CONVENE 22-23 DECEMBER

Croat Session

LD231934 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1502 GMT 22 Dec 82

[Text] Zagreb, 23 Dec (TANJUG) -- At its session in Zagreb today, the League of Communists of Croatia Central Committee adopted conclusions of the tasks of the League of Communists in creating the conditions for the social and work involvement of young people, in which particular emphasis is laid on the need for continued ideopolitical activity among people, and on the significance of creative participation by the young in self-management activity in all parts of social work and sociopolitical life.

The League of Communists of Croatia Central Committee also adopted a decision bringing certain provisions of the Croat League of Communists statute into line with the LCY statute, and it also adopted standing orders on its work.

Announcing that, according to the planned work program, the Central Committee will be discussing ideological trends at a future sesion, Jure Bilic, president of the League of Communists of Croatia Central Committee Presidium spoke about some topical tasks in this sphere. Citing instances of nationalism, he said that it is not a question of some kind of front, but activity by these forces is greater than usual. There are also instances of so-called leftism, and the negation of the essence of the communist and revolutionary workers' movement. Bilic called for resolute public ideo-political opposition and for a struggle on the part of communists in exposing the reactionary ideopolitical background to these phenomena. In this connection he also presented a series of actions that has already been initiated by the League of Communists of Croatia Central Committee Presidium.

In the conclusions on League of Communists tasks in creating conditions for the social and work involvement of young people, which the League of Communists of Croatia Central Committee discussed at its previous session, emphasis is laid on the far-reaching significance of the struggle for the socialist orientation of the young generation, for the continuity of our revolution and for the constant development and enrichment of self-management socialist practice. The strengthening of the decisive role of League of Communists ideology and policy on the orientation and actions of the young represents an essential condition for the revolutionary renewal and strengthening of the leading role of the League of Communists in society, as well as a significant condition for the successful struggle against all antisocialist and antiself-management forces, tendencies and phenomena, the conclusions say. A socialist and self-management orientation on the part of the young generation is not guaranteed in advance, and the League of Communists and other organized socialist forces must fight for it constantly. Emphasizing that active and creative participation by young people in everyday self-management activities in all areas of social work and sociopolitical life is gaining great significance precisely now, at a time of serious problems in the development of society, the conclusions emphasize the view that the essential interests of the young generation in our society can only be satisfied in the context of the struggle for the continued development of self-management socialist social relations.

Communists must not reconcile themselves with ineffective and slow solutions to the accumulated problems that affect the working, living and educational conditions of young working people who are insufficiently influential in self-management actions and political life, and frequently in an inequitable position in distribution.

In the sphere of the socialist transformation of education and upbringing, the conclusions say, significant results have been achieved, but nevertheless, there remains a series of open problems arising primarily from the fact that associated labor has still not fully taken on its part of the tasks relating to the transformation of education and upbringing.

The League of Communists of Croatia Central Committee emphasizes in particular that the policy and possibility of employment for young people is of special economic, social, ideopolitical and class significance. Programs of increased and more rapid employment as well as of reducing unemployment must be based on the development plans of associated labor. Emphasizing that there are significant reserves for employment in the sphere of personal services and, in general, in tertiary activities and agriculture, the Central Committee charges communists with working out social development programs in these activities, in particular in small-scale industry and in all municipalities. Communists must also act most forcefully against all forms of abuse in the sphere of employment that cause dissatisfaction among the young. The Central Committee demands the rapid adoption of a social agreement and self-management agreement on employing trainees for a certain period, so as to enable young people to gain essential general work experience.

The rallying, organization and activity of young people through the work of the League of Socialist Youth have for years been fraught with significant weaknesses that are being overcome very slowly, and this is to a great extent also a consequence of inactivity on the part of the League of Communists. Neglect of broadly-based ideological involvement by communists among young people and of calls for the creation of more favorable social and material conditions in which young people can organize themselves, as well as have a richer social, cultural, sporting and creative life, has opened up the way for various negative influences on the young, ranging from the entertainments industry and private initiatives by business people to clericonationalistic forces. Therefore, it is the task of the League of Communists to strengthen its ideopolitical influence and develop direct and constant action among young people.

The League of Communists must pay special attention to questions of ideological and educational activity by teachers, by youth and by other sociopolitical organizations in schools, faculties and students' hostels.

The Central Committee charges communists in organizations and societies that rally young people with forming an aktiv of communists if they have not done this up to now. League of Communists delegations in sociopolitical chambers of municipalities and in the Croatian Assembly, in the context of discussions on the social plans, will start an initiative aimed at discussing in particular questions of increased social security for young people, and questions of the employment and better education of young people in accordance with the needs of development, the League of Communists of Croatia Central Committee conclusions say finally.

Concluding the session, Jure Bilic, president of the League of Communists of Croatia Central Committee Presidium, acquainted League of Communist members with topics that are being prepared for discussion at forthcoming sessions of this committee. In mid-January the agenda will contain a discussion of some economic problems, especially in connection with the planned social and economic development next year. At the end of this month, the Central Committee will discuss social activities, and at the end of February it will discuss ideological questions in society.

Jure Bilic spoke in particular about some topical ideological questions, emphasizing that his assessments must be interpreted as encouragement for all communists and all social forces to take action. Speaking in this connection about nationalistic excesses, Bilic said that here it is not a question of some kind of front, but that the activity of these forces is greater than usual. According to Bilic, the involvement of League of Communist basic organizations, and League of Communist municipal committes and committees in communities of municipalities is not able to deal with the tasks of the moment. This assessment also relates to activity by these bodies on the question of so-called leftism, which is also present and may be influential unless we explain our economic and social policy correctly, Bilic said.

Saying that the Central Committee Presidium has already initiated action aimed at mobilizing the League of Communists and all socialist forces, Bilic emphasized that at this time the League of Communists must go on to the counteroffensive on all fronts, but at this moment the League of Communists is not ready for this. Bilic considers that we need an answer to the question of why municipal committees, basic organizations and communists do not react when a young man is physically abused in a students' hostel and dares to report this only after a few days. Adding that he does not want to dramatize this but that it reminds him a little of the prewar situation at the University, Bilic emphasized that we should be most concerned with the fact that "the combat energy of the small groupings is silencing our forces. Why do people behave in this way? Is there really no courage?" Jure Bilic asked. Referring to coverage in the public organs about these phenomena, Bilic said that it is good that this was written, but that it seems to him that most of what was written was wrong, namely, the ideological and political basis of these phenomena is not exposed, nor are the consequences of nationalism, unitarism or leftism explained, nor the ideopolitical bases of these phenomena in society. In his view, the basis of this nationalism "is not the Croatian Peasant Party, it is Ustashism, and Fascism, and our public and young people should be told the ideological bases of this, connected with its international reactionary circles." On this, Bilic also pointed to events among political emigre groups and said that the services of individual governments have started to grant recognition to individual movements and terrorist organizations in one way or another.

Bilic considers that all these questions arise in the ideological, political and economic sphere must be answered and that the public information media must clear up these matters resolutely.

Speaking about the history of the communist and revolutionary movement, Bilic said that various events in Croatia and Yugoslavia have been emphasized previously, and that now "this has affected both the October Revolution and Lenin."

Citing as an example the latest issue of "KNJIZEVNA REC," Bilic said that it is easy to see "how far they have gone without shame and the courage with which they revise all this so as to portray the revolution as one of a group of highway bandits." [as received] And, falsifying Marx, they support this by saying that a revolution can only triumph in developed capitalism. Where would the world be today, and where would the October Revolution, the Chinese revolution, the Vietnamese, the Yugoslav and other liberation movements be if one waited for this, Bilic asked.

Bilic went on to point out that all those who act from these opposition positions are linked along a whole front. In contrast to this there is a lack of linking along the communist line in the whole country, particularly between editorial boards of the information media, and we need this linking.

Warning again against insufficient involvement by communists in opposing such phenomena, Bilic concluded that the League of Communists must move onto a resolute and public counteroffensive, both political and ideological.

Macedonian Session

LD232358 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1405 GMT 23 Dec 82

[Excerpts] Skopje, 23 Dec (TANJUG) -- The Macedonian League of Communists Central Committee, at its session held today in Skopje with Krste Markovski in the chair, adopted the program marking the 40th anniversary of the first session of the Communist Party of Macedonia Central Committee held on 19 December 1983 in Tetovo. It also discussed the organizational standards and activity of municipal committees of the Macedonian League of Communists. Conclusions on the topical issues of the liquidity of the economy and of banks in Macedonia which the Macedonian League of Communists Central Committee discussed at its previous session, were also on the agenda, as was the decision on the amount and distribution of the membership fee.

Members of the Macedonian League of Communists Central Committee also discussed today the analysis of the organizational standards and activity of the Macedonian League of Communists municipal committees as an essential factor in its own organizational development and development for action, as well as for the efficient ideopolitical action in asserting its leading role.

In the activity over recent months, following the Macedonian League of Communists Congress, significant efforts are being made to strengthen systematically the ideological, political and action unity in resolving topical socioeconomic problems, Miroslav Georgievski, member of the Macedonian League of Communists Central Committee said in his introductory speech. The growing level of commitment by members and basic League of Communists organizations in mobilizing the working people and citizens is evident. A significant contribution is also being made by municipal League of Communists committees.

It was, however, pointed out that modest results have been achieved so far and that in some committees the tendencies of retaining old methods of work and of activity are still present. Municipal committees are also, in fact, merely verifying the attitudes and decisions of their presidium. One of the most serious weaknesses in the action of muncipal committees is the irregular monitoring of the realization of the attitudes and conclusions on the ideopolitical acitivity of members, basic organizations and organs of the League of Communists.

Serbian LCY, Presidency

LD232234 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1116 GMT 23 Dec 82

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Dec (TANJUG) -- At a joint session of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee Presidium held today under the chairmanship of Nikola Ljubicic, topical issues relating to the political and security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province (SAP) of Kosovo were discussed.

As reported, the Presidency and Presidium noted that organized subjective forces in the SAP of Kosovo, in particular the League of Communists, have increased their sociopolitical activity and ideopolitical work significantly in the struggle against the enemy and in carrying out the political platform of LCY action in the development of socialist self-management, brotherhood, unity and community in Kosovo. At the session it was judged that the room for manifestations of hostile activity has been limited and that activity by all socialist and self-management oriented working people and citizens in favor of the continued stabilization of the general political and security situation in Kosovo has been stimulated.

As was said, significant progress has also been made in activating individual subjects of the system of social self-protection, but tasks lie ahead in the better organized and more resolute activity and functioning of the system of social self-protection in its broadest sense.

Political activity by the League of Communists and other sociopolitical organizations, as well as measures by SFRY organs the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SAP of Kosovo, have contributed to a recent improvement in intranational relations which were disturbed to a great extent following the counterrevolutionary events. However, the creation of bad intranational relations remains one of the main forms of nationalistic and irredentist hostile activity. The measures taken to eliminate the causes of emigration by Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo have produced certain results, although the process of emigration continues to have a serious dimension. In connection with this the consistent implementation of standpoints and conclusions already adopted is essential.

In schools and faculties, as was said at the session, certain results have been achieved in ideological work and ideopolitical differentation, but constant political activity is still needed, as well as a deepening of ideopolitical work, above all with young people.

At the session it was emphasized that positive changes have taken place in the organization of work of state organs in the SAP of Kosovo, and there have been visible results in equipping internal affairs organs. In the coming period, special attention must be devoted to effectiveness and legality in the work of all state organs, as well as to equipping them in terms of cadres, material and technical possibilities.

At the session it was said that even better organized and broader involvement by the Kosovo League of Communists in all environments is needed, as well as broader activity by all sociopolitical organizations, especially by the League of Socialist Youth. This will ensure the continued waging of open and direct ideological and political battle to prevent and curb hostile activities and their influence, the statement from today's joint session of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee Presidium says.

SERBIA'S FIXED INVESTMENT STATISTICS REVIEWED

AU261436 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Dec 82 p 8

[Aleksandar Mancic report]

[Summary] Official statistics which we received at Serbia's Chamber of Economy show that 2,949 new investment projects were registered in Serbia in the first 9 months of this year within estimated cost of 39.7 billion dinars. This compares with 3,473 projects estimated at 53.2 billion dinars registered in the same period last year. The number of investment projects has therefore been reduced by 15.2 percent and their estimated cost by 25 percent.

On the other hand, expenditures on fixed investment in Serbia increased considerably this year. The increase in fixed investment expenditure in Yugoslavia in 1982 was 26 percent as compared with 1979, and only 18 percent in Serbia. In the first 9 months of this year, the increase was 25 percent for Yugoslavia as a whole and 30 percent for Serbia. This was caused by payments delayed from the previous year and by costs rising more than planned. If inflation is taken into consideration, the fixed investment expenditure in Serbia has fallen in real terms by about 7 percent.

The new economic measures have not only curbed investment expenditure but also changed the structure of investment in Serbia. In the first 9 months of this year, expenditure on fixed investment in the economy increased 35.3 percent to exceed 78 billion dinars. Expenditure on noneconomic fixed investment increased 18 percent to exceed 27 billion dinars.

In the first 9 months of this year, as compared with the same period last year, fixed investment expenditure in energy increased 18.8 percent, from 8,877,000,000 to 14.67 billion dinars; expenditure in raw materials projects increased 19.2 percent, from 8,897,000,000 to 14,915,000,000 dinars: and in agriculture and related industry 11.6 percent, from 5,261,000,000 to 9,087,000,000 dinars. [all figures as publisehd] "These are certainly large sums which, more than their growth, indicate the intention of Serbia to change the structure of investment to the benefit of the branches and groups that have an essential influence on the development of the economy and the solving of the problem of disequilibrium in the country."

In the same 9-month period, the share of associated labor organizations in fixed investment increased from 35.1 to 38.1 percent of the estimated cost, and the share of bank funds decreased from 48.6 to 46.4 percent.

Investment expenditures in Serbia nevertheless remain large. In March, 8,152 investment projects were under construction with an estimated cost of 462 billion dinars. Most of these are small projects, since 1.4 percent of the projects under construction account for 62.4 percent of estimated costs.

SERBIAN WRITERS PROTEST BANNING OF NOVI SAD PLAY

AU222042 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Dec 82

[Text] The Presidium of the Serbian Writers Association has sent a letter to the drama center of the Serbian National Theater in Novi Sad in connection with the play, "Golubnjaca," being taken off the repertory. The letter says among other things that the Presidium of the Serbian Writers Association considers that problems of culture and arts in our socialist self-managing society cannot be solved by administrative measures, bans and by taking plays off the repertory.

The Presidium expresses its disagreement with the assessments and negative political qualifications of Jovan Radulovic's play which resulted in its being removed. The letter recalls that the book by this writer, which was arranged for the stage as "Golubnjaca," was highly praised by the critics and received the prize of the seven secretaries of SKOJ [Federation of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia].

SUNDIC ON WEST'S REACTION TO ANDROPOV PROPOSALS

LD231858 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Dec 82

[Text] In the military sphere it was not expected that the Western countries would react so quickly or unanimously to Yuriy Andropov's proposal to freeze missile weaponry in Europe. The assessment is negative, but it does not seem to be a convincing one. Here is our commentator, Milika Sundic.

[Sundic] Yuriy Andropov's proposal to freeze missile weaponry in Europe is not acceptable to the West. This, in short, is the essence of the reaction by the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, France and the CDU leadership in the FRG. All of the reactions referred to say that acceptance of Yuriy Andropov's proposal would mean recognition of Soviet military superiority in Europe. The Western countries have been asserting this for a long time, particularly in the last 2 years.

If there were no nuclear missile weapons outside the European Continent, the Western countries would perhaps be in the right. But since Europe is practically surrounded by military bases on both land and sea there can be no question of disturbing the balance of power in favor of the Soviet Union. Even Western military experts have been saying this until recently. After all, it is beyond all reason to imagine that the Soviet Union, even if it had such ambitions, would dare embark on a campaign against Western Europe, for this would inevitably lead to nuclear war with catastrophic consequences for all.

On the other hand, the question arises of what would be gained if the West European countries were to accept the U.S. plan on deploying Pershing and cruise missiles. It is obvious that nothing would be gained. And let us not even mention the possible use of this weaponry.

Moscow is prepared to reduce the number of SS-20 missiles in the European part of the Soviet Union, but it is not prepared to withdraw them from beyond the Urals. If to the Western countries this is not enough, perhaps it can be discussed, at least as long as there is the slightest hope of some kind of success. Both superpowers must reconcile themselves to the fact that the problem of disarmament cannot be discussed to the accompaniment of constant sabre-rattling, nor can an agreement be extracted at the expense of either of them. Naturally, it is difficult to count the number of missiles held by each, but nevertheless, if it is known approximately who has superiority in what, nothing can be hidden.

If Yuriy Andropov has proposed nothing which was not expected in the West, and it is evident that this is the case, one cannot dispute the fact that the general secretary of the CPSU placed the emphasis on negotiations and not on confrontation. The FRG SPD is quite right in its reaction to Yuriy Andropov's proposal that it would be very risky to reject it. Finally, there is also the Supreme Soviet appeal to governments' parliaments, which we would never presume to call a propaganda maneuver. Of course, the world has good reason to suspect the behavior of the superpowers, but nothing would be worse than reconciling oneself to the inevitability of a war on world dimensions. Precisely because of this, the question arises of whether the Western countries have not acted rashly in their assessment of the Soviet initiative, regardless of the fact that it does not offer what they wanted and does not fit in with what they want from the Soviet Union.